

APPENDIX E

Detailed justification for “Challenges of election results” in Disputed Elections in Presidential Democracies

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Coding of challenges of election results:

Based on information from history books, newspapers, election reports in the *Journal of Democracy*, and reports from observation missions of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the European Parliament and the US State Department, indentify the following information:

1. Intention to challenge.

If within the first three days following the election the runner-up candidate (or national leaders of his party) announced his refusal to accept the results of the election.

0 = the runner-up candidate publicly conceded defeat, or silently acquiesced the result.

1 = the runner-up candidate announced his inconformity with election results or his intention to reject them (please also briefly list the reasons why he did not accept the results of the election), or if the runner-up candidate proclaimed himself as the winner.

2. Legal challenge.

If within two months after the election, the runner-up candidate started a legal action against the results of the election.

0 = the runner-up candidate did not fill a legal petition.

1 = if the legal challenge to election results took the form of a legal suit filed before the respective electoral authority (Congress, Supreme Court, Administrative court, Electoral Court).

3. Political protest.

If within two months after the election, the runner-up candidate started actions of protest against the results of the election.

0 = the runner-up candidate publicly conceded the results of the election, or silently acquiesced the result.

1 = the runner-up candidate or party leaders started actions of protest against the results of the election (street protests, sit ins, taking public buildings, civil disobedience)

4. Both

It entailed a combination of legal and non-institutional challenges.

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Argentina 1989-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Argentina 1989	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	In the context of the transition to democracy and a severe economic crisis, the ruling party did not oppose the victory of Menem. What is more, they accelerated the transition of powers.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 14 de mayo de 1989 <i>Winner:</i> Carlos Menem - FREJUPO <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Eduardo Angeloz - UCR / CFI</p> <p>“En las elecciones del 14 de mayo de 1989, las segundas de caracter presidencial de la transicion argentina, se produjo una alternancia en el gobierno, al ser derrotado el candidato radical por el peronista Carlos Menem. [...] Desde el punto de vista de la transicion, la alternancia significa que el juego entre el oficialismo y la oposicion ha funcionado adecuadamente, hasta el punto de permitir que la oposicion acceda al gobierno.”</p> <p>(Source: Catterberg, Edgard and María Braun. 1989. <i>Desarrollo Económico</i> 29(115): 361-374 http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3466879.pdf?acceptTC=true)</p> <p>“The fact that elections took place amidst the general economic crisis struck many as impressive. In the recent past, economic chaos had opened the path for military coups. The transfer of power was scheduled for December 10. [...] Lacking any popular support, Alfonsín decided to transfer power to Menem as soon as possible. Initially, the radicals tried to negotiate the terms of the transition to gain some influence over the new government’s economic and fiscal policies- The negotiations failed, however. As conditions deteriorated, Alfonsín decided to resign at the end of June. [...] By turning over power to an elected successor, the Alfonsín government did accomplish one thing one thing that had not occurred in Argentina since 1916 that rival parties had peacefully exchanged control of government.” (164-165)</p> <p>Source: Lewis, Daniel. 2001. <i>The History of Argentina</i>. Wespont, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.</p>
Argentina 1995	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Bordón was formerly member of Menem’s Justicialist Party, but disagreed with Menem’s economic policies. Thus, Bordón left the PJ	<p><i>Election date:</i> 14 de mayo de 1995 <i>Winner:</i> Carlos Menem <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> José Octavio Bordón- Frente del País Solidario (FREPASO)</p>

		<p>created a group that run in the 1995 elections. Despite the initial support, after the 1994 reform that allowed the reelection of Menem, and avoided the lame duck effect, many politicians backed him. In the 1995 election, Menem had an overwhelming turnout.</p>	<p>En lo inmediato, la crisis le dio nueva fuerza a la campaña reeleccionista, pues Menem pasó a encarnar el orden y la estabilidad. En las elecciones de 1995 enfrentó a una UCR debilitada y sin confianza, y a una nueva fuerza: el frepaso, fruto de la union entre el Frente Grande y un movimiento apresuradamente organizado por el dirigente peronista Mendocino José O. Bordón. Menem, acompañado por Carlos Ruckauf, derrotó a la formula BordónAlvarez, que dejó a los radicals Massaccesi y Storani en un lejano tercer lugar. El triunfo de Menem fue muy claro: logró prácticamente el 50% de los votos. El poder del jefe llegó allí al cénit.</p> <p>Source: Romero, Luis Alberto. 2004. <i>Breve Historia Contemporánea de la Argentina</i>. México: FCE.</p> <p>Otros recuerdos prefiere darlos por superados. Como las decisiones que lo llevaron a dilapidar esos 4.993.360 votos que sacó en las elecciones de 1995, enfrentando a Carlos Menem. Bordón se había abierto del PJ y había formado el Frepaso junto con Chacho Alvarez, a quien derrotó en una interna abierta y fue candidato a presidente. Tras ser batido por el “voto cuota” y por el riojano a prueba de balas, la alianza se resquebrajó con velocidad: Bordón intentó acercarse a Beliz al Frepaso, lo que fue resistido por Chacho. El quiebre definitivo fue en 1996, cuando Bordón renunció a su banca en el Senado y también abandonó su partido PAIS. El resultado para su capital político fue catastrófico.</p> <p>Con la maldad que lo caracterizaba, el entonces jefe de Gabinete Alberto Kohan lo felicitó y dijo que “debería haber renunciado hace tiempo” para darle su banca al menemismo. La lluvia de críticas llegó desde todas partes y Bordón dijo que quería “volver al llano”, pero pocos años más tarde volvió al PJ, de la mano de Duhalde. El bonaerense lo llevó en su campaña de 1999 como titular de una comisión de modernización y transformación del Estado. Desde allí, prometió recortar a la mitad las secretarías del Estado.</p> <p>Source: Qué es de la vida de... José Octavio Bordón. Página 12 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-109055-2008-08-05.html</p> <p>La presidencial de 1995, además de regalar a Menem una reelección cómoda, marcó la aparición pública del Frepaso, alianza entre los partidos País y Frente Grande, y especie de escisión progresista del PJ. Impedidos a último momento de competir en una elección primaria con Menem —"el candidato natural del PJ", tal era el argumento—, los frepasistas Bordón y Álvarez armaron una campaña austera y artesanal que conectó por un tubo con el creciente espíritu anti-menemista del '95.</p>
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			<p>"Al principio éramos observados con benevolencia y hasta simpatía", recuerda Bordón. Y así fue hasta que, 15 días antes de la elección, las encuestas dieron a Bordón arriba de Massaccesi y con serias chances de quedarse con la presidencia en un balotaje contra Menem.</p> <p>"Ahí la indiferencia se transformó en intensa actividad y la amabilidad en ataques sistemáticos: el gobernador Duhalde cambió su lejanía de la campaña y sus muestras de respeto hacia nosotros, para volcar su estructura a favor de Menem; y el oficialismo lanzó una campaña mediática sin precedentes, convocando a famosos y poderosos para atraer el voto cuota de los endeudados", relata el ex gobernador de Mendoza. Esa operación incluyó "desde extranjeros alertando sobre el riesgo que suponía el triunfo del Frepaso para la estabilidad financiera, hasta Maradona convertido en consultor aconsejando la continuidad". En ese punto de la campaña, Bordón entendió que "la suerte ya estaba jugada". Al final, Bordón consiguió unos sorprendentes 30 puntos y Storani se quedó con la hipótesis de lo que podría haber pasado.</p> <p>Source: Fianza, Andres. 2012. "Los presidentes que no fueron." Newsweek en Español. Octubre 12. Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2013. http://newsweek.infonews.com/nota-188874-Los-presidentes-que-no-fueron.html</p> <p>Few PJ Readers shared Menem’s neoliberal strategy. Party president Antonio Cafiero, for example, sought a “less drastic” reform and a n economic model that maintained “a degree of state intervention” and “greater social equity.”²¹ Most of the party’s urban Readers, including Carlos Grosso,²² Jose Manuel De la Sota,²³ and Jose Octavio Bordon,²⁴ preferred a more moderate or “social democratic” approach. (142)</p> <p>54 The most important challenge, however, came from Mendoza Senator (and presidential hopeful) Jose Octavio Bordon. Although Bordon did not oppose the Convertibility Law, he insisted that “stability by itself is not going to guarantee growth and social justice.”¹⁵⁵ Bordon compared the government’s social policies to the “anti-social policies of the 1930s,”¹⁵⁶ criticized the government’s “excessive dependence on foreign capital inflows,”¹⁵⁷ and accused Menem of “converting Justicialism into a party of the rich.”¹⁵⁸ He also sought an alliance with organized labor and opposed the government’s efforts to “flexibilize” labor markets.¹⁵⁹ By mid-1993, Bordon appeared to have the support of Cafiero, De la Sota, Duhalde, Lorenzo Miguel, and other key party leaders.¹⁶⁰ (173)</p> <p>However, the Bordonista project soon collapsed. In large part, the project was buried by the November 1993 Olivos Pact, which assured Menem’s reselection. In obtaining the possibility of reelection and thus putting to rest any potential lame duck effect, Menem altered the strategic calculus of Peronist leaders. With Menem likely to retain control of the presidency through 1999,</p>
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			<p>few PJ leaders were willing to oppose him. Thus, Duhalde, who had been in conflict with Menem in early 1993, realigned with the president, and Cafiero, a Duhalde ally, never joined the Bordon camp. Expected support from key provincial party bosses never materialized. Even De la Sota, who had publicly backed Bordon, began to call for Menem’s reelection. By late 1993? Bordon was “ostracized” within the party,161 and he could gain the support of only a handful of secondary party leaders and dissident unions. Marginalized, Bordon left the PJ in September 1994, joining the ex-Group of Eight to form the center-left Front for a Country in Solidarity (FREPASO). Only four of the PJ’s 128 Congressional deputies left with Bordon. (174)</p> <p>THE ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF MENEMIST PERONISM</p> <p>The PJ again defeated the UCR in the 1993 legislative elections, this time by 43 percent to 30 percent. This second victory, which included unprecedented wins in Radical bastions such as the Federal Capital, was sufficiently decisive to convince ex-President Raul Alfonsin to negotiate the UCR’s support – via the November 1993 Olivos Pact – for a constitutional reform permitting Menem to run for reelection in 1995 (Acuna 1995). In 1994> the PJ finished first in elections for the new Constituent Assembly, nearly doubling the vote total of the second place Radicals, and in 1995, Menem was overwhelmingly reelected with 50 percent of the vote, compared to 29 percent for FREPASO candidate Bordon and 17 percent for UCR candidate Horacio Massaccessi. Although the PJ was defeated by the Alliance for Jobs, Justice, and Education – a coalition of the UCR and FREPASO in the 1997 midterm elections and the 1999 presidential elections, it retained control of nearly two-thirds of the country’s governorships (including those of the three largest provinces) and easily remained the largest party in Argentina.</p> <p>Source: Levitsky, Steven. 2003. <i>Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p><i>Chapter 6. Electoral Collapse: the Case of Argentina’s FREPASO</i></p> <p>In mid-1994, José Octavio Bordón, the ex-governor of Mendoza province and a longtime centrist, Christian Democratic peronista, defected from the PJ, created a new party, PAIS (Política Abierta para la Integridad Social), and allied with the FG. The FG and PAIS then allied with Unidad Socialista, a small socialist party, and a group of ex-Christian Democrats led by Carlos Auyero. In November of 1994, this center-left electoral front became a regis- tered party, FREPASO.26 FREPASO members coined the term ‘transversality’ (transversal- idad) to describe the ‘common cement’ (e.g., opposition to corruption) holding together the party’s heterogeneous elite networks.27</p>
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			<p>In anticipation of the 1995 general election, FREPASO took to the airwaves, promoting anti-corruption, competent governance, and horizontal accountability through 'efficient and intense use' of televised speeches and press conferences, interviews with broadcast outlets and major newspapers (e.g., Clarín, La Nación), and media-tailored 'political displays' (Novaro and Palermo 1998: 117, 150-1).²⁸ Álvarez, in particular, was a 'media phenomenon', 'charm[ing] the media with [his] irreverence toward the traditional rituals of politics, [his] ease of manner and speed' (Novaro and Palermo 1998:).</p> <p>Just as FREPASO gravitated toward the media,²⁹ the media – according to several unprompted interview statements – gravitated toward FREPASO. In the words of one member, television news anchors, radio hosts, and newspaper journalists 'lived off' the party's charismatic, articulate leaders.³⁰ FREPASO rarely had to purchase television spots. Instead, party leaders held press conferences, gave speeches, staged media displays, and the media 'just showed up'.³¹ FREPASO took a great leap forward in the 1995 general election, mounting a serious electoral challenge to Argentina's two-party establishment. The Bordón/Álvarez presidential ticket³² placed second with twenty-nine percent, and FREPASO quintupled the FG's 1993 congressional vote share, jumping from 4.2 to 21.0 percent. FREPASO also relegated the UCR to third place in the presidential election for the first time in decades.³³</p> <p>Still, FREPASO had lost to the PJ by an unexpectedly large margin.³⁴ The party leadership thus concluded that a victory over the PJ would require an even broader alliance.³⁵ In the lead-up to the 1997 congressional election, FREPASO took a bold step, allying with the UCR to create a broad, centrist, anti-Menem electoral coalition, the Alianza.³⁶ The move provoked some internal controversy, as the UCR was a centrist party of the establishment that, at Olivos, had signed off on Menem's manipulation of the constitution.³⁷</p> <p>Yet FREPASO leaders generally agreed that the UCR and FREPASO had been dividing the middle-class PJ opposition vote for too long. They believed that it was electorally imperative, in the short term,³⁸ to set aside programmatic differences, articulate common principles and programs, and work together to unseat the PJ. Following the lead previously taken by FREPASO, the Alianza branded itself a centrist coalition, principally focused on defeating Menem and restoring clean government and horizontal accountability.</p> <p>Source: Brandon Van Dyck. <i>Dissertation. Chapter 6. Electoral Collapse: the Case of Argentina's FREPASO</i> http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/brandonvandyck/files/collapse_of_frepasso_1.pdf</p> <p><i>The Party System and Political Representation in the 1990s</i></p>
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			<p>The Argentine party system experienced both continuity and change during the 1990s. In contrast to Peru and Venezuela, where the failure of established populist parties contributed to party system collapse and the rise of antisistema outsiders, Argentina's party system proved resilient in the face of economic crisis and radical reform. In large part, this stability was rooted in the PJ's capacity to adapt to the neoliberal Challenger while simultaneously maintaining its traditional support base (Levitsky 2003, this volumen). As Table I.I shows, the PJ won four straight national elections after the Menem government's neoliberal turn. Peronism's decisive victories in the 1991 and 1993 midterm elections were widely interpreted as votes of support for convertibility, and they provided Menem with clear mandates to proceed with economic reforms. The PJ also won the 1994 constituent assembly elections, and in 1995, Menem was overwhelmingly reelected with 50 percent of the vote.</p> <p>The Radicals, who were discredited by both the failure of the Alfonsín government and the Olivos Pact, fell from 52 percent of the presidential vote in 1983 to an unprecedented low of 17 percent in 1995. UCR candidate Horacio Massaccesi finished third in the 1995 presidential race, behind former Peronist José Octavio Bordón, who ran as the candidate of the FREPASO, which campaigned on issues of clean government and institutional integrity, captured much of the UCR's middle-class electorate.</p> <p>The emergence of FREPASO temporarily divided non-Peronist forces, as both FREPASO and the UCR competed primarily for the middle-class vote. As a result, the PJ, which remained hegemonic among the working and lower classes, dominated electoral politics in the mid-1990s. However, in August 1997, the UCR and FREPASO formed the Alianza por el Trabajo, la Educación, y la Justicia (Alliance for Jobs, Justice, and Education), transforming the previously weak and divided opposition into a viable electoral alternative. The party system remained divided into Peronist and non-Peronist camps, but the latter was now represented by a coalition of the established Radicals and the emerging FREPASO. The Alianza defeated the PJ in (35) the 1997 legislative elections, breaking a string of six consecutive Peronist victories. In 1999, the Alianza's presidential ticket of Fernando De la Rúa (UCR) and Carlos "Chacho" Álvarez (FREPASO) campaigned on a platform of clean government, institutional integrity, and greater attention to social needs. Taking advantage of increased public dissatisfaction over corruption and increased social exclusion, the Alianza won easily, defeating PJ candidate Eduardo Duhalde by 48 percent to 38 percent. (36)</p> <p>Levitsky, Steven and María Victoria Murillo. 2005. "Building Castles in the Sand? The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Argentina." <i>In The Politics of Institutional Weakness. Argentine Democracy</i>. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.</p> <p>-0-</p>
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			<p>LUNES 15- 5- 95 INTERNACIONAL ABC Pág. 39 Menem, reelegido presidente en primera vuelta Los primeros resultados en las presidenciales argentinas Bordón, con un 34 por ciento, logra la segunda posición de ayer le daban casi un 48 por cien de los votos y relega a los radicales a un histórico tercer lugar La gran incógnita que rodeaba al resultado de las elecciones presidenciales celebradas ayer en Argentina no era quién iba a ser el ganador- Menem aparecía como seguro vencedor- sino saber si el actual presidente sería capaz de no tener que acudir a la segunda vuelta con el senador José Bordón, del FREPASO. La Los indecisos han contribuido al final a hacer aún más claro el triunfo del actual presidente en detrimento del candidato del FREPASO (Frente del País Solidario) José Bordón, que deberá conformarse con un 34 por ciento de los sufragios y con haberse convertido en el único animador de la campaña. Buenos Aires. José Olmo y Losada</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1995/05/15/039.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Programa de televisión "En la mira" Conducción: Nelson Castro Entrevista al senador Jose Octavio Bordon donde habla de la derrota en Mendoza (elecciones presidenciales 1995) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0a4_xrbZ7E</p>
Argentina 1999	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Duhalde was already expecting the defeat, and that was how it happened. Duhalde conceded defeat: "Hablé con De la Rúa y le auguré un buen Gobierno. La tendencia del escrutinio es irreversible y creo que hemos elegido a un presidente en el que podemos confiar. Tenemos que ayudar todos",</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 24 de octubre de 1999 <i>Winner:</i> Fernando de la Rúa – Alianza, 48.37% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Eduardo Duhalde – Concertación, 38.27%</p> <p>“Yo no tengo una vocación de poder tan grande como la que se necesita, sí o sí, para llegar a determinados cargos. No admiro a los que la tienen como Alfonsín o Menem (...) Son tipos que permanentemente están pensando en el poder. Yo no. He ido llegando a los cargos porque está escrito en el destino. (...) Más que capacidad, la característica más destacada en mí es la buena suerte, la buena estrella (...) si tomamos a la política como una pieza de ajedrez, allí yo soy la dama. Es la pieza que ordena y conduce”. [...]</p> <p>En las elecciones de 1987 para la gobernación de la provincia de Buenos Aires el triunfo fue para Antonio Cafiero ante el candidato por el radicalismo Juan Manuel Casella. Sin embargo, estando a mediados de diciembre del año 1987, Cafiero no había cumplido ni quince días en el despacho como gobernador y ya estaba pensando en los comicios presidenciales de 1989.</p>

		<p>Duhalde, sin embargo esperaba con gran serenidad que su toque de gracia llegara y así fue como sucedió. El dirigente salteño Julio Mera Figueroa, insistió a Menem de postular a Duhalde como compañero de fórmula; no obstante Menem tenía sus dudas: “Duhalde es un hombre recto. Y es verdad, tiene poder en la provincia. Pero le gusta manejarse solo. Porque tiene eso que yo necesito: votos y dirigentes (...) no me gustaría tener a mi lado un hombre con proyecto y peso propio (...) resolvió el enigma cuando comprendió que no podía prescindir de los votos y de la buena cantidad de dirigentes y punteros de la provincia que le brindaría Duhalde.</p> <p>El 9 de julio de 1988 fue el día de las elecciones internas del Justicialismo y las esperanzas de Cafiero se desvanecieron ante el triunfo de la fórmula Menem-Duhalde. [...]</p> <p>Duhalde se convirtió en un fanático de las encuestas durante las internas presidenciales de 1988, cuando los dirigentes del justicialismo y los medios de comunicación, daban por cierta la victoria de Cafiero: “la manía empezó cuando Menem me ofreció la candidatura a la vicepresidencia. Todos los dirigentes, todos, me decían que era una locura acompañarlo. Yo también. Decían que eran tiempos de Cafiero. Ahí comencé con las encuestas. Comprobé que Menem tenía mucho más apoyo entre la gente del que se pensaba” .</p> <p>Para Duhalde hay que investigar, recorrer, indagar en el alma de la gente antes de echarse andar por las calles: “sin encuesta no se puede hacer política y mucho menos gobernar. Hay que preguntarle a la gente qué quiere, qué hombres prefieren. Y entonces, de acuerdo al resultado, uno tiene que tomar ese camino”.</p> <p>Por eso, Duhalde responde con una respuesta de tipo esotérica: “Menem era un tipo con suerte. Por eso lo seguí, nada más”.</p> <p>Finalmente, el 8 de septiembre de 1991, con un 43 % del caudal de votos, Duhalde es elegido Gobernador de la provincia de Buenos Aires. [...]</p> <p>Hacia mediados de 1997, el temor a que la corte suprema habilitara la posibilidad a Menem para presentarse a una re-reelección, llevó a la oposición a formar una alianza coyuntural con Duhalde para evitar la violación de la Constitución Nacional.</p> <p>Duhalde logró evitarlo gracias al aparato y poder político con el que contaba, ya que con la amenaza de convocar a un plebiscito en la provincia de Buenos Aires, Menem renunció públicamente a la aspiración de presentarse como candidato.</p>
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			<p>El compañero de fórmula de Duhalde fue el cantautor y ex gobernador de Tucumán, Ramón “Palito” Ortega. Finalmente, el candidato de la Alianza, Fernando De La Rúa, triunfó en las elecciones presidenciales de 1999 con el 48,5% de los votos, venciendo al justicialista Eduardo Duhalde.</p> <p>El 10 de diciembre de 1999, Fernando De La Rúa asumió como el nuevo Presidente de los argentinos. Lo característico de este nuevo gobierno fue que su líder era un “líder sin Liderazgo”: predominaba lo que se conoce como gobierno dividido, ya el Justicialismo ocupaba la mayoría de las bancas en el Poder Legislativo; sumado a un Poder Ejecutivo, encabezado por un líder que no se consagró como auténtico líder partidario.</p> <p>Source: Kasta, Verónica. 2009. “Liderazgo Político de Eduardo Duhalde: “El hombre que nunca se rinde. El hombre que está condenado al éxito.” <i>Revista de Ciencia Política</i>. Revista N°7 Agosto 2009, Buenos Aires.</p> <p>Duhalde reconoce la derrota Ha tardado seis horas en hacerlo, pero al final, el candidato peronista Eduardo Duhalde ha reconocido su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales. "Hablé con De la Rúa y le auguré un buen Gobierno. La tendencia del escrutinio es irreversible y creo que hemos elegido a un presidente en el que podemos confiar. Tenemos que ayudar todos", ha manifestado Duhalde.</p> <p>Además, señaló que no se cree "el padre de la derrota", la peor del peronismo, aunque se ha negado a identificar a quiénes atribuye la máxima responsabilidad en el partido por esta caída en las urnas.</p> <p>Source: “Fernando de la Rúa presidirá Argentina” <i>El País Internacional</i>. Lunes, 25 de octubre de 1999. Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2013. http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/1999/octubre/25/internacional/argentina.html</p> <p>NOTA SOBRE EL CACEROLAZO DE 2001</p> <p>En las elecciones legislativas del 14 de octubre de 2001 se evidencio finalmente una verdadera crisis de representation que tuvo inesperada expresion posterior en el estallido social llamado cacero lazo e incidió en la Renancia del presidente Fernando de la Rúa. El voto fue entonces la oportunidad para cuestionar la representación política aunque no el sistema representativo en tanto tal. Creció el número de abstencionistas, pero lo más significativo fue la disposición de quienes iban</p>
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			<p>a votar para rechazar las opciones que se les ofrecían. También una manifestación de esta protesta, aunque de menor significación, fue el voto por nuevas fuerzas políticas.⁴²</p> <p>Pocos meses después el mandato presidencial se interrumpió con su renuncia. Al asumir (130) nuevas autoridades en un contexto de crisis general, se adoptaron medidas que desarmaron el modelo económico existente, al tiempo que la declaración de la cesación de pagos congeló los lazos crediticios y financieros con el mundo hasta entonces existentes, y abrió un interrogante sobre el futuro del país.</p> <p>Desde el 19 de diciembre de 2001, y por algunos meses, las cacerolas resonaron en los contextos más variados (generalmente desde esa fecha, los viernes por la noche en los balcones y en las esquinas o en las plazas barriales, y los ciudadanos marchaban luego hacia Plaza de Mayo, pero también durante el día se congregaban frente a las entidades bancarias, ante ciertos edificios públicos y ante la sede de Tribunales en repudio alusivo a la Corte Suprema) para expresar un descontento que en ese entonces parecía ilimitado. Pero ese día, el 19 de diciembre, por primera vez de un modo significativo, las cacerolas fueron el instrumento de una protesta descomunal que se extendió de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires al conurbano y a algunas ciudades del litoral, y que conllevó inmediatamente la renuncia del cuestionado ministro de Economía y, horas después, la del presidente.⁴⁴ Se trató propiamente de un estallido espontáneo cuya condición de posibilidad inicial fue, en parte, la proximidad urbana que facilita el contagio de las conductas, y, en (131) mayor medida la comunicación televisiva (a la que se agregaron en fases posteriores, no espontáneas, las redes de Internet) que facilitó la propagación de las primeras manifestaciones. No se registró la intervención de asociaciones cívicas, corporativas o políticas en el inicio de la activación social.⁴⁵</p> <p>La Argentina fue un país de política callejera, que ha sido tradicionalmente un recurso corporativo o partidario y utilizado con frecuencia desde las instancias de poder.⁴⁶ La tradición de movilización popular ha sido la del encuadramiento. A las concentraciones se dirigían sobre todo columnas organizadas, es decir que los actos públicos aparecían como una sumatoria de pertenencias que se iban agregando y la participación de los individuos sueltos era secundaria.⁴⁷</p> <p>Puesto en esa perspectiva, el estallido del 19 de diciembre revistió características completamente inusuales. La marea de participantes se iniciaba en los balcones y en las puertas de casas y edificios, algunos de ellos se concentraban en las esquinas y en las plazas y cortaban el tránsito de arterias principales, acompañados por las bocinas de los automóviles. Esto se prolongaba durante horas, al cabo de las cuales algunos de los manifestantes emprendían en grupos una larga marcha hacia los centros tradicionales del poder: la Casa Rosada, el Congreso, la quinta de Olivos y sus equivalentes en las ciudades del interior. Estos manifestantes alternaban la condición de vecino y la de ciudadano; el símbolo de la cacerola indicaba la proximidad del ámbito doméstico, un continuo entre el hogar y el espacio público que perturba la tradicional distinción entre lo público y lo privado. La participación de grupos familiares en tanto tales enfatizaba esta nueva condición ambigua. (132)</p>
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			<p>La fuerza de ese plebiscito ciudadano, el cacerolazo, precipitó la renuncia de dos presidentes consecutivos. El sucesor de De La Rúa, Adolfo Rodríguez Saá, abandonó el cargo luego de una semana de gestión, acosado por la protesta y aislado en su propio partido, y pendió como una amenaza permanente sobre el tercero, Eduardo Duhalde, quien debió acortar su mandato y adelantar la convocatoria de las elecciones presidenciales ante el descrédito provocado por otra luctuosa represión a una manifestación popular. (133)</p> <p>Source: Chersky, Isidoro. 2008. <i>Poder presidencial, opinión pública y exclusión social</i>. 1a ed. Buenos Aires : Manantial/CLACSO Coediciones.</p>
<p>Argentina 2003</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Menem and Kirchner led the first round of the presidential election, but it was clear that a majority rejected Menem as candidate, and therefore, he decided not to compete in the second round. In this way, Kirchner became the president with no opposition.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 27 de abril de 2003 (Primera vuelta) Domingo 18 de mayo de 2003 (Segunda vuelta) <i>Winner:</i> Carlos Menem (first round) 24.45% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Néstor Kirchner (first round) 22.24%</p> <p>La primera ronda de las elecciones presidenciales de Argentina de 2003 se celebró el domingo 27 de abril de 2003. Carlos Menem y Néstor Kirchner, ambos candidatos del Partido Justicialista, pasaron a la segunda ronda al ser incapaces de obtener el 45% de los votos válidos. La segunda vuelta debía celebrarse el domingo 18 de mayo, pero al vislumbrar una derrota ante Kirchner, Menem retiró su candidatura con el fin de quitarle legitimidad a su mandato,[cita requerida] con lo cual Kirchner resultó electo presidente. (Wikipedia)</p> <p>Conocidos los resultados del primer turno se constituyó una nueva escena en la que se reestablecía el rasgo dominante que se había manifestado a lo largo de los meses anteriores: el rechazo a la candidatura de Carlos Menem era muy mayoritario y anunciaba el triunfo de un voto negativo arrasador que favorecería al otro candidato en lista, Néstor Kirchner. La impotencia mediadora de los candidatos perdedores que pretendieron intervenir para pesar en la decisión de voto de sus electores en el interregno entre las dos vueltas, ilustró tanto las limitaciones de los liderazgos personalistas como la fuerza de la ola antimemenista.</p> <p>La consagración del resultado previsto se frustró porque Menem desistió de competir en condiciones de muerte anunciada, no sin haber intentado previamente deslegitimar el proceso electoral con denuncias de fraude que se volvieron en su contra.</p> <p>Kirchner llegaba así a la presidencia por un concurso de circunstancias fortuitas y era portador más de un voto rechazo que de una promesa avalada. En ese sentido, Kirchner resultó ser un presidente accidental, surgido de circunstancias muy diferentes a las que solían caracterizar la selección de liderazgos en las democracias institucionalizadas. Y debido a esto, los analistas políticos</p>

			<p>pronosticaban que su legitimidad sería débil y dependería de la estructura peronista, sobre todo de la provincia de Buenos Aires. (49)</p> <p>Source: Chersky, Isidoro. 2008. <i>Poder presidencial, opinión pública y exclusión social</i>. 1a ed. Buenos Aires : Manantial/CLACSO Coediciones.</p>
Argentina 2007	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Carrió conceded defeat and congratulated Cristina Fernández for her victory.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 28 de octubre de 2007 <i>Winner:</i> Cristina Fernández - FPV <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Elisa Carrió – CC</p> <p>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdGzoqmrqmc</p> <p>Elisa Carrió reconoció de madrugada su derrota en la elección argentina "La tendencia confirma como presidente a Cristina Fernández y felicitamos y reconocemos su victoria", afirmó la candidata de la Coalición Cívica, quien acabó segunda en los comicios. "Escrutados el 45 por ciento de las mesas y el 33 por ciento de los votantes del país, la tendencia confirma como presidente a Cristina Fernández y felicitamos y reconocemos su victoria", afirmó Carrió, candidata de la Coalición Cívica. De acuerdo a los últimos datos oficiales del cómputo provisional y con el 58,71 por ciento de las mesas escrutadas, Fernández se imponía con el 43,94 por ciento de los votos, seguida por Carrió, con el 21,86 por ciento, lo que daba el triunfo en primera vuelta a la candidata del oficialista Frente para la Victoria (FPV). Horas antes, Carrió había declarado que no reconocería un triunfo de Fernández hasta tanto no fuera escrutado un porcentaje significativo de sufragios. "Elisa Carrió reconoció de madrugada su derrota en la elección argentina." Cooperativa. Publicado: Lunes 29 de octubre de 2007. Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2013. http://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/mundo/argentina/elecciones/elisa-carrio-reconocio-de-madrugada-su-derrota-en-la-eleccion-argentina/2007-10-29/073742.html</p>
Argentina 2011	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Cristina Fernandez had the electoral biggest triumph since Perón in 1973. Facing that forceful victory, the runner</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 23 de octubre de 2011 <i>Winner:</i> Cristina Fernández <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Hermes Juan Binner</p>

		<p>up candidate, Binner, congratulated Fernandez de Kirchner for her triumph.</p>	<p>Los resultados conceden a Cristina Fernández de Kirchner una fuerte concentración de poder, mayor aún que la que obtuvo en su primera victoria, en 2007, cuando sucedió a su propio marido, Néstor Kirchner, y con todo su respaldo, obtuvo un 45% de los votos. En esta ocasión, en la que acudió “en solitario” debido al fallecimiento, hace un año, de su esposo, el objetivo era superar el 50% del escrutinio, establecer una ventaja histórica sobre el segundo clasificado, que puede rondar los 40 puntos, la mayor desde la victoria del general Perón sobre el radical Ricardo Balbín, en 1973, y recuperar el control en el Congreso y el Senado, en los que el fuerte respaldo conseguido permite augurar un avance sustancial.</p> <p>La oposición, muy debilitada, según los sondeos, no aspiraba siquiera a forzar una segunda vuelta. En los últimos días de campaña el esfuerzo se concentró fundamentalmente en evitar que el kirchnerismo lograra una mayoría absoluta en el Parlamento.</p> <p>Source: “Histórica victoria de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.” El País Interbancional. SOLEDAD GALLEGU-DÍAZ / ALEJANDRO REBOSSIO Buenos Aires 24 OCT 2011 - 19:23. Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2013. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2011/10/23/actualidad/1319395089_551123.html</p> <p>Argentina: Binner, Alfonsín y Duhalde reconocen la derrota y felicitan a Cristina Kirchner en los comicios</p> <p>Los candidatos presidenciales Hermes Binner, Ricardo Alfonsín y Eduardo Duhalde, derrotados hoy en Argentina reconocieron los resultados que otorgan una apabullante victoria a Cristina Fernández de Kirchner a quien felicitaron.</p> <p>El candidato a presidente del Frente Amplio Progresista (FAP), Hermes Binner, que queda en segundo lugar, afirmó hoy que su espacio “es la segunda fuerza política de Argentina”, aunque felicitó a la presidenta Cristina Fernández de Kirchner por su triunfo en los comicios de hoy.</p> <p>“Nos comprometimos a trabajar para ser gobierno en Argentina”, remarcó Binner, durante el discurso que ofreció en su bunker del Hotel Savoy, tras conocerse los resultados del 40 por ciento de las mesas escrutadas, que lo ubican segundo con el 17 por ciento de los votos.</p> <p>Source: “Argentina: Binner, Alfonsín y Duhalde reconocen la derrota y felicitan a Cristina Kirchner en los comicios.” <i>Infolatam</i>. Buenos Aires, 23 octubre 2011. Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2013.</p>
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			http://www.infolatam.com/2011/10/24/argentina-alfonsin-reconocio-la-victoria-de-cristina-fernandez-en-los-comicios/
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Benin 1991-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Benin 1991	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	After a long and smooth transition from a single party system to a multi party one, elections in Benin were held in 1991. Mathieu Kerekou, who had ruled Benin for seventeen years, was voted out of office. The retiring presidency recognized his electoral defeat and congratulated Nicephore Soglo, who had been his prime minister for a year after electoral reforms.	<p>Election date: 03/24/1991, second round Winner: Nicephore Soglo, Union for the Triumph of Democratic Renewal Runner up candidate: Mathieu Kerekou, Independent (former dictator)</p> <p>“The former president bowed out and went into a sort of voluntary political exile in his home region. In spite of his tyrannical antecedents, it it’s interesting that Kérékou refused to use the incumbency factor to his advantage during the process of transition to multiparty democracy. Indeed, he was credited with the wisdom of reading the trend of events correctly and so did not exploit to perpetuate himself.”</p> <p>Source: Shillington, Kevin (editor). Encyclopedia of African History. Volume 1. A-G. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Benin’s former dictator acknowledges election defeat The Associated Press. April, 1, 1991.</p> <p>Former Marxist dictator Mathieu Kerekou acknowledged his election defeat in a national address and urged the people of Benin to overcome political and economic hardships. Caretaker Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo triumphed over Kerekou on March 21 with 67 percent of the vote in Benin's first presidential election in 21 years.</p>

			<p>"It is without regret or bitterness that I decided to go along with the decision of the people," Kerekou said Sunday. "This is why I offer my hearty and warm congratulations to Mr. Nicephore Soglo, a worthy successor."</p> <p>Soglo is in a military hospital in Paris, reportedly suffering from typhoid fever aggravated by sciatica. His inauguration has been indefinitely postponed.</p> <p>Kerekou is serving as interim president.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkId=true&risb=21_T18854387619&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=51&resultsUrlKey=29_T18854387623&cisb=22_T18854387622&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=304478&docNo=72</p>
<p>Benin 1996</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>On 18 March of 1996, Former dictator, Mathieu Kerekou, won the Beninese presidential election. The retiring president, who defeated Kerekou in the electoral process of 1991, initially refused to recognize his defeat. Nicephore Soglo challenged the election results, asked the constitutional court to annul the election in several districts and urged his supporters to protest. Nevertheless, he finally conceded defeat and congratulated his successor.</p>	<p>Election day: 03/18/1996 Winner: Mathieu Kerekou, Independent (former dictator) Runer up candidate Nicephore Soglo, Renaissance Party of Benin -0-</p> <p>Former dictator wins Benin's elections Agence France Presse (Englis). March 20, 1996.</p> <p>Former military dictator Mathieu Kerekou has swept back to power in Benin's presidential elections, defeating incumbent head of state Nicephore Soglo, an independent newspaper reported Wednesday.</p> <p>The daily Le Matin said that on "the complete results from the second round" of the poll on Monday, the retired General Kerekou had won 54 percent of the votes, against 46 percent for his rival.</p> <p>According to the national statistics institute, however, Kerekou won 56 percent of the votes. The official result has yet to be announced by the constitutional court.</p> <p>Le Matin did not say where its own figures came from, but well-informed sources said that experts in the national statistics institute in the small west African nation had completed the count late on Tuesday.</p> <p>In the economic capital Cotonou, Soglo, a former World Bank economist who defeated Kerekou in 1991 elections after the restoration of multi-party democracy, took 63.5 percent of the votes, and he won 80.1 percent in his native Zou region in the centre of the country, Le Matin reported.</p> <p>The independent electoral commission (CENA) has released complete results from only one of Benin's six departments, Mono, and its chairman, Leopold Dossou, said that he was waiting for "written confirmation" of figures given by telephone.</p>

			<p>Supporters of Soglo, who was damaged at the polls by a reputation for autocratic rule after he replaced Kerekou, on Tuesday protested that national radio had "manipulated public opinion" by broadcasting unofficial, provisional figures on the strength of some three-quarters of the votes, giving Kerekou 59 percent.</p> <p>They said that the figures did not take Soglo's strongholds in Cotonou and Zou into account. Representatives of both candidates have called for the annulment of the poll in some constituencies because of alleged irregularities.</p> <p>The foreign press has come under fire from the Beninese authorities for citing figures which the CENA said had received "no official written confirmation".</p> <p>The correspondent of Radio France Internationale in Cotonou was threatened with expulsion for two hours before the order was rescinded in the evening.</p> <p>The 62-year-old Kerekou, known by his self-given nickname as "the Chameleon", led a military regime -- on Marxist lines for many years -- after a coup in 1972 before bowing to domestic and international pressure for democracy.</p> <p>His comeback, after five years of a quiet life in Cotonou, followed a campaign at the polls as a man of the people.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18854956520&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=26&resultsUrlKey=29_T18854956524&cisb=22_T18854956523&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=10903&docNo=42</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Benin's president refuses to recognize poll defeat Agence France Presse (English). March 25, 1991. Benin's President Nicephore Soglo, who refuses to admit electoral defeat at the hands of former military ruler Mathieu Kerekou, has called for the annulment of the vote in many parts of the country.</p> <p>Soglo on Sunday said he had asked the constitutional court to annul the vote in many districts in the northern Borgou and Atacora departments and the southwest Oueme department, where the retired general has strong support. The head of state told a gathering of his supporters that if the court took account of irregularities in these regions, it would "bring about the re-establishment (of the situation) in our favour".</p> <p>He asked his backers to show up for a meeting on Monday afternoon in the economic capital Cotonou.</p>
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			<p>-0-</p> <p>The Constitutional Court, which had declared 23% of the ballots cast in the first round invalid, rejected Soglo’s charges of vote fraud and confirmed the results of the vote on March 24. Kérékou formed a government of national unity and appointed Adrien Houngbédji, leader of the majority Party of Democratic Renewal (PRD), prime minister. The new Cabinet was drawn from eight political groups.</p> <p>http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/60885/Benin-in-1996</p>
Benin 2001	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Mathieu Kerekou got the first place in the first round for the presidential race. The runner up candidate for the first round, Nicephore Soglo, decided to pull out of the race alleging electoral fraud. Kerekou competed only against one unpopular candidate who quickly conceded defeat when the victory of Kerekou was announced.</p>	<p>Election date: 03/18/2001 Winner: Mathieu Kerekou, Action Front for Renewal and Development Runner up candidate: Bruno Amoussou, Social Democratic Party</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Presidential elections were held in Benin on 4 March 2001, with a second round run-off on 18 March. They controversially resulted in the re-election of Mathieu Kérékou for a second term. Kérékou's rival Nicéphore Soglo, who had been president from 1991 to 1996, failed in his bid to reclaim the presidency; although he qualified to participate in the second round of the election against Kérékou, he refused to do so, alleging electoral fraud. Adrien Houngbédji, the parliament speaker and third-place candidate, also refused to participate in a second round. Therefore Kérékou faced fourth-place candidate Bruno Amoussou, who was planning minister and had already given his support to Kérékou, in the second round; Kérékou won an easy victory with 84% of the vote.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Kerekou officially re-elected president: commission Agence France Presse (English). March 25, 2001. Benin's incumbent President Mathieu Kerekou was re-elected with more than 84 percent of the vote, the country's autonomous electoral commission (CENA) announced Saturday. Late Friday, challenger Bruno Amoussou, one of Kerekou's cabinet ministers, conceded defeat, even before the CENA had tallied the final results of Thursday's second-round run-off.</p>

			<p>Kerekou received 1,286,465 votes, or 84.06 percent, to Amoussou's 244,032, or 15.94 percent of the final tally. Some 146,431 votes were not counted in the overall tally, as those voters did not lend support to either candidate, the commission said. Amoussou was the only candidate to run against Kerekou after his main foe, Nicephore Soglo, dropped out of the race, followed by parliamentary speaker Adrien Houngbedji. The two main opposition candidates boycotted the runoff, alleging fraud in the first round of voting held on March 4, and calling the election a "masquerade" in favour of Kerekou. Amoussou, who only earned 8.59 percent in the first round, had initially asked his supporters to back Kerekou, but later decided to run when his other opponents dropped out of the race. Kerekou is a former Marxist military ruler who made African history in 1991 when he voluntarily stepped down after elections were forced upon him and he lost. The March 4 vote was the last to pit Kerekou against Soglo, a former financier and World Bank official who won the 1991 election but was routed at the polls by the general five years later. Both men are now 67 and will be ineligible, at over 70, to stand in the next election in 2006. Their campaigns each focused in part on blaming the other for corruption and nepotism. Paul Dossou, head of Soglo's campaign, told reporters late Saturday that supporters of the former president would ask the country's constitutional court to annul the results of Thursday's runoff. The complaint would be based on the fact that nine members of the electoral commission resigned between the two rounds of voting in protest against the way Amoussou was brought back into the race, Dossou said. "The CENA was not qualified to organize the election after the resignation of its members," he said. http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18854982_994&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18854982998&cisb=22_T18854982997&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=10903&docNo=3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Benin's voters stay away from presidential vote marred by fraud Associated Press International. March 22, 2001.</p> <p>Polling stations were nearly deserted across the West African nation of Benin on Thursday, as voters cast ballots in a presidential runoff disrupted by allegations of fraud. President Mathieu Kerekou, the country's former Marxist dictator, was expected to win easily. Kerekou faced Bruno Amoussou, a member of his own Cabinet.</p>
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			<p>Amoussou managed only a fourth-place finish in the March 4 first round, winning just 8.5 percent of the vote to Kerekou's 45.4 percent.</p> <p>He moved into the runoff when the second- and third-place finishers former president Nicephore Soglo and parliament speaker Adrien Houngbedji pulled out, alleging widespread election irregularities and vote fraud.</p> <p>Amoussou himself had told supporters to vote for Kerekou in the second round, before Soglo and Houngbedji withdrew.</p> <p>"It's better to hold a friendly match than have a useless confrontation," Kerekou told reporters after casting his own vote in the commercial capital, Cotonou.</p> <p>Officials said voter turnout in the first round was about 87 percent.</p> <p>That high turnout stands in sharp contrast to Thursday's poll.</p> <p>In one polling station in Abomey Soglo's hometown only a dozen or so ballots had been cast after polls had been open for more than five hours.</p> <p>"We're seeing a lot of disaffection among people for the second round. It's the opposite of what we saw March 4 in the first round," said Dorothe Sossa, head of an independent election observer group.</p> <p>Nine of the 25 members of Benin's election commission resigned earlier this week, questioning the commission's credibility and impartiality.</p> <p>The allegations have strained Benin's reputation as one of West Africa's more successful young democracies.</p> <p>In 1991, Kerekou peacefully turned over power to Soglo after losing the nation's first democratic presidential race.</p> <p>Kerekou regained the post in the 1996 elections.</p> <p>"The holding of a second round is proof that our democracy is deeply rooted and getting stronger," Kerekou said Thursday.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true &risb=21_T18854982994&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18854982998&cisb=22_T18854982997&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=1382_11&docNo=23</p>
<p>Benin 2006</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>A constitutional reform avoided the two main political Beninese leaders from running for the presidency.</p> <p>Thomas Boni Yayi won the election and the runner up candidate, Adrien</p>	<p>Election date: 03/19/2003</p> <p>Winner: Thomas Boni Yayi, Independent</p> <p>Runner up candidate: Adrien Houngbédji, Democratic Renewal Party</p>

		<p>Houngbédji, congratulated the winner as soon as the results were released.</p>	<p>Benin; from liberal to social democracy April 10, 2006. Africa News. Benin is undeniably one of Africa's most successful stories in liberal or electoral democracy. From 1990 when she became the first African country to institute a sovereign National Conference, Benin has continued to employ all innovative and endogenous democratic strategies that distinguish her from the continent's identity of political insolvability. The solid foundation laid by the conference in February 1990 provided the Beninese people with a nationalistic vision that focused on the power of alternatives through the ballot box rather than the principle of self-perpetration through constitutional tinkering. As it was with most African countries, the clamour for democracy in the late 80s and early 90s was translated by the political elite and "development partners" as a movement from one party tyranny to a liberal, multiparty or electoral democracy. Yet in most cases it turned out that liberal democracy was more of elite competition than mass mobilisation, more of concession than conversion, more of convenience than conviction. It was not so with Benin which now stands as Africa's model of "glasnost" and "perestroika".</p> <p><i>Success Story</i> Benin's success in liberal democracy has been influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, the existence of a vibrant press. According to a recent annual report on press freedom, Benin not only tops all African countries but stands ahead of countries like America, Japan and Italy. Press freedom has been used to effectively and constructively manage debate and contradictions in Benin's body politic. Secondly, the autonomous elections management body called "Commission Electorale Nationale Autonome, CENA, is not only independent in its constitutional make-up, but is managed by persons of integrity whose sole loyalty lies with the aspirations of the people and not the whims and caprices of the political class. A case in point was in March 1996 when the then incumbent President Nicephore Soglo tried in vain to arm twist the then iron lady President of CENA into rigging elections in his favour. Because of the neutrality, impartiality, transparency and stability of CENA, Benin broke the 18-year [1972-1990] Marxist rule of Ahmed Mathieu Kerekou and further heralded a ping-pong leadership pendulum for another 15 years [1991-2006] between the flamboyant World Bank diplomat Soglo and the homegrown political "chameleon" Mathieu Kerekou. It was also because of the transparency of the 2006 presidential polls that the loser Adrien Houngbedji sent a message of congratulations to the winner Yayi Boni. Thirdly, the respect of the constitution. While other African countries adopted the second term mandate as a check to power routinisation, Benin added the exit age factor [Presidential candidate should not be above 70 years] as an antidote to the vexed tenacity syndrome in Africa.</p>
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			<p>Herein lies the maturity and statesmanship of Kerekou who, instead of violating that constitutional provision, chose to act as the political umpire. Even when it came to postponing the run-off elections [another important factor] between Yayi Boni and Houngbedji, Kerekou insisted on respecting the constitution, which stipulates that all run-offs must take place two weeks after the first one.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18909004685&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=26&resultsUrlKey=29_T18909004689&cisb=22_T18909004688&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8320&docNo=32</p> <p>Benin: electoral body announces Yayi Boni winner of the presidential poll March 23, 2006. BBC Monitoring Africa - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring Excerpt from report by Radio France Internationale on 23 March</p> <p>[Presenter] From a banker to a president, Yayi Boni will be the new Beninese president. The electoral commission yesterday announced the poll results based on 97 per cent of all ballots. The former head of the West African Development Bank won three thirds of the votes, 75 per cent. The former Speaker of the National Assembly, Adrien Houngbedji, garnered 25 per cent of the votes. He accepted his defeat and called the winner on the telephone to congratulate him. Therefore, unless there is a major turn of event it is Yayi Boni who will succeed Mathieu Kerekou on 6 April. [Passage omitted] Source: Radio France Internationale, Paris, in French 0530 gmt 23 Mar 06</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18909004685&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=26&resultsUrlKey=29_T18909004689&cisb=22_T18909004688&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=10962&docNo=43</p>
<p>Benin 2011</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>The runner up candidate in the Beninese election of 2011 refused to concede defeat. Adrien Houngbedji urged his supporters to protest and appealed, along with the 3rd place, the election to the supreme court. The</p>	<p>Election date: 03/13/2011 Winner: Thomas Boni Yayi, Independent Runner up candidate: Adrien Houngbedji, Democratic Renewal Party/Union Makes the Nation [UN]</p>

		<p>court rejected the appeals and proclaimed Boni Yayi re-elected.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">-0-</p> <p>Benin court denies appeals, proclaims president re-elected Agence France Press (English). March 30, 2011.</p> <p>Benin's constitutional court on Wednesday rejected opposition appeals over the results of this month's disputed presidential vote and declared incumbent Boni Yayi re-elected.</p> <p>In its decision, the court said it had rejected all appeals filed over the results showing Yayi won with 53 percent and "proclaims Mr. Boni Yayi definitively elected president of the republic." "The constitutional court says that the term of Mr. Boni Yayi, elected president of the republic, takes effect beginning April 6, 2011 ...," it said.</p> <p>Yayi's main challenger, Adrien Houngbedji, rejected the results of the March 13 election, alleging fraud and proclaiming himself the winner in the small West African nation. The results showed Houngbedji with 36 percent.</p> <p>Tensions have risen since the vote, which had previously been postponed twice because preparations were not complete, with police firing tear gas to break up an opposition protest in the economic capital Cotonou last week.</p> <p>Both Houngbedji and Abdoulaye Bio Tchane, who had been seen as a third major candidate but who finished far behind at six percent, filed appeals with the court, alleging Yayi benefited from illegal voting stations. Houngbedji has also alleged ballot stuffing. Yayi also filed an appeal, arguing he won with a larger margin.</p> <p>The court rejected the three candidates' appeals, saying they failed to prove their allegations. Houngbedji's next move will now be closely watched in the ex-French colony of some 9.2 million people, with the president's camp having called on him to concede defeat.</p> <p>There have been sporadic protests of several hundred people both before and after the vote, but it remained unclear whether such demonstrations could spread. UN chief Ban Ki-moon's special representative for west Africa, Said Djinnit, expressed concern over the post-electoral situation last week.</p> <p>http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Benin+court+denies+appeals,+says+president+re-elected-a01612442332</p>
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			<p>pressure on the courts, and ultimately it was decided that Yayi Boni would be recognized as the president of Benin.</p> <p>There were no extra protests following this declaration of Boni as President, and Houngbedji, as well as his supporters, ultimately accepted the outcome of the election, though with much skepticism.</p> <p>http://nydatabase.swarthmore.edu/print/content/beninese-people-protest-against-alleged-election-fraud-2011</p>
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Bolivia 1979-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Bolivia 1979 (not democratic)	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	The election rules establish that if a candidate does not have the majority of votes, the Congress will choose the President between the two more votes candidates. But the Congress could not reach an agreement, and called for new elections.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 1 de julio de 1979 <i>Winner:</i> Hernán Siles Zuazo - Unidad Democrática y Popular <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Víctor Paz Estenssoro - Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Alianza</p> <p>Las elecciones presidenciales bolivianas de 1979 se realizaron el domingo 1 de julio de 1979. Como ningún candidato obtuvo más de la mitad de los votos, correspondió al Congreso Nacional elegir al presidente entre los candidatos más votados, que fue incapaz de ponerse de acuerdo, por lo que se llegó a una solución consensuada de elegir a Walter Guevara Arze como presidente interino por un año, a espera de realizar nuevas elecciones.</p> <p>Después de tres votaciones, ninguno de los candidatos obtuvo la mayoría requerida. En vista de esto, el Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario propuso al presidente del Senado, Walter Guevara Arze, como presidente interino durante un año. (Wikipedia)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p>La categórica victoria de la UDP, admitida por los rivales, y su mayoría parlamentaria hacían prever la ratificación de su triunfo en el Congreso. Las amenazas del general García Meza, comandante del ejército, ensombrecieron empero el paisaje. Ni la creación de un débil Consejo Nacional de la Democracia que reunió a la COB y a partidos de centro e izquierda para oponerse a un eventual golpe de Estado, ni las repetidas advertencias norteamericanas, ni la firma de un acuerdo entre la COB y las fuerzas armadas para respetar las elecciones, impidieron el alzamiento militar, en el cual fueron asesinados Quiroga Santa Cruz y otros dirigentes de izquierda (julio de 1980)”. El régimen exilió y (19) persiguió a líderes políticos y sindicales en una violenta represión. García Meza, quien no intentó justificar su sangriento golpe, careció de apoyos internacionales o locales²⁶. Las malversaciones económicas de su gobierno, los lazos con grupos narcotraficantes y paramilitares, la corrupción del Estado para fines aelectivos “ aumentaron el estupor y la hostilidad de la sociedad como la descompostura del ejército.</p> <p>Cuando el ala institucional de las fuerzas armadas, respaldada por grupos opositores obligó a renunciar a García Meza, buscó la salida menos costosa con diligencia (agosto de 1981). Relajó las presiones sobre la vida política y social, sin calmar las insatisfacciones, expresadas ante todo por los sindicatos y los comités cívicos. El continuo deterioro de la situación socioeconómica la impulsó a convocar al Congreso elegido en 1980 para que designe a un Presidente constitucional. Pese a ello, el retiro del ejército se produjo en condiciones difíciles pues no logró una verdadera salida pactada, como en otros países latinoamericanos: los militares bolivianos fueron los únicos, con los argentinos, que respondieron por sus actos delante de la justicia.</p> <p>En un clima de alborozo, en octubre de 1982, Siles y Paz Z., candidatos de la UDP, fueron elegidos respectivamente Presidente y Vicepresidente de la República, con el apoyo del MNR y de grupos menores de izquierda. Así conduyó el período de los regímenes militares dominante desde 1964, cerrando la época más inestable, comprendida entre 1978-1982, de la historia boliviana. (20)</p> <p>Romero Ballivian, Salvador. 1995. <i>Electores en época de transición</i>. La Paz: Plural editores/ Neftali Lorenzo editores.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>LAS ELECCIONES DE 1979. EL EMPANTANAMIENTO. LA SOLUCIÓN GUEVARA El proceso electoral tuvo esta vez un carácter de mayor libertad dada la neutralidad del poder Ejecutivo. El clima electoral tenso se caracterizó por el encono y las acusaciones entre las diversas candidaturas. Además de los nombres centrales de Siles (UDP) y Paz (MNR) se perfilaron dos contendientes de peso, el primero Hugo Banzer que surgía a la vida política después de su larga</p>
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			<p>presidencia con un nuevo partido fundado en enero de 1979, Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN) de tendencia conservadora de derecha. El otro candidato era Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz del Partido Socialista 1 (PS-1) que había obtenido un pálido resultado en 1978 pero que ahora subía en el favor electoral. El resultado final (T de julio de 1979) fue el de un virtual empate. Hernán Siles obtuvo 528.696 votos (31.22%) contra 527.284 (31.13%) de Víctor Paz. Banzer logró 218.586, logrando un sorpresivo y notable tercer lugar y Quiroga 70.765, nueve veces más que en 1978. Las acusaciones de fraude contra el MNR surgieron después de la etapa de recuento de votos, en la que se anularon centenares de mesas por cualquier detalle, bajo el amparo de una ley electoral que lo permitía.</p> <p>El virtual empate entre Siles y Paz, dada la mínima diferencia de 1.412 votos entre el primero y el segundo abrió las puertas para una batalla intransigente en el legislativo. Al no obtener la mayoría absoluta ningún candidato, la decisión final le tocó al parlamento que, tras siete votaciones entre el 4 y el 5 de agosto, no pudo lograr la mayoría para ningún candidato (a Paz le faltaron cuatro votos que no pudo obtener a pesar de su mayoría congresal). Fueron dos jornadas de alta tensión y con la sombra del golpe rondando sobre los parlamentarios. Las posturas eran tan intransigentes que en las siete votaciones los 25 parlamentarios adenistas votaron en blanco y los 5 del PS-1 anularon sus votos. En esos días era impensable un acercamiento del MNR o UDP a cualquiera de esas dos fuerzas para lograr una solución al entramamiento y un proyecto de gobernabilidad. Esta experiencia traumática que fue saludada por dos sangrientos golpes de estado en meses ulteriores, y la que vivió la UDP, condujeron por fin a los políticos a soluciones razonables y de diálogo, inauguradas en 1985 con el pacto por la democracia firmado entre Paz y Banzer.</p> <p>Finalmente, a propuesta del honorable Tineo de ADN, se decidió designar como Presidente constitucional interino de la república por un año a Wálter Guevara Arze (electo por la coalición del MNR) a la sazón presidente del congreso. (718)</p> <p>De Mesa Figueroa, José, et. al. 2001. <i>Historia de Bolivia</i>. La Paz: Imprenta Don Bosco.</p>
<p>Bolivia 1980 (not democratic)</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Given that no candidate had half of the votes plus one, the Congress had choose the President, but before this happened, there was a military coup.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 29 de junio de 1980 <i>Winner:</i> Hernán Siles Zuazo - Unidad Democrática y Popular <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Víctor Paz Estenssoro - Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Alianza</p> <p>Las elecciones presidenciales bolivianas de 1980 se realizó el domingo 29 de junio de 1980. Como ningún candidato obtuvo más de la mitad de los votos, correspondió al Congreso Nacional elegir al presidente entre los candidatos más votados. Hernán Siles Zuazo fue elegido presidente, pero un golpe de estado impidió que asumiera, lo que consiguió sólo el 10 de octubre de 1982.</p>

			<p>El Congreso Nacional debía elegir al nuevo presidente entre las tres primeras mayorías luego de que ningún candidato obtuviera más del 50% de los votos. Este proceso debía ser realizado el 6 de agosto de 1980; sin embargo, 17 de julio ocurrió un golpe de estado encabezado por el general Luis García Meza. Tras la huelga general que dejó al país prácticamente al borde de la guerra civil el 17 de septiembre de 1982, el gobierno militar decidió restituir al Congreso electo en 1980, y el poder legislativo decidió el 23 de septiembre revalidar la elección presidencial de 1980, produciéndose la votación el 5 de octubre, fecha en la que Hernán Siles Zuazo fue elegido presidente de Bolivia. Asumió su cargo el 10 de octubre.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 0 -</p> <p>2.5. Turbulent transition (1978-85) Between 1978 and 1985, Bolivia underwent a protracted transition which ended with a surprisingly conventional and stable democratic regime. Schematically, rival military factions attempted to exercise veto power until 1982, when the elected civilian President Hernan Siles Zuazo – who by this time had become Paz Estenssoro’s main rival sought to inaugurate a fully democratic regime in the midst of an overwhelming social and economic crisis. The key points are that (i) until Siles agreed in 1985 to cut short his term of office from four years to three in order to restore a degree of governability, there were no agreed rules of the game binding on all parties to structure the processes of political competition; (ii) the first clear loser was the military, which progressively surrendered its veto power, its prestige and its economic privileges as a result of fitful interventions that failed to create order but Meza; (iii) the second clear loser was the labour movement and its ideological partners on the left, not this time because of oppression but because when they obtained a degree of political power under Siles they were incapable of managing the economy; (iv) although there were intervals of popular mobilization in which not only workers but also sections of the peasantry gained increased voice, the transition was marked by the gradual weakening of their capacity to mobilize effectively; and (v) in conditions of more open political expression and competition the heroics of confrontational politics were superseded by a growing desire for realistic compromise and competent governance. Constitutionalism gathered strength just as the appeal of mobilizational politics waned. (28-29)</p> <p>Whitehead, Laurence. 2001. “The Emergence of Democracy in Bolivia.” In John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead, eds. <i>Towards Democratic Viability. The Bolivian Experience</i>. New York: Palgrave.</p> <p>LAS ELECCIONES DE 1980 A pesar de todo las elecciones se realizaron en ambiente de absoluta calma. La Presidenta logró cumplir una de sus máximas aspiraciones, presidir una elección pacífica y transparente. Volvió a</p>
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			<p>ganar Hernán Siles con 507.173 votos (38.74%), el Segundo lugar fue otra vez para Víctor Paz con 263.706 votos (20.15%) que perdió la mitad de los votos obtenidos en 1979 en gran medida por la sombra del golpe de noviembre que muchos le atribuían. Banzer logró 220.309 (16.85%), sin variantes en relación al 79, y Quiroga Santa Cruz 113.959 (8.71%), casi el doble de 1979. La proyección del líder socialista era excepcional y su crecimiento electoral superó toda expectativa. Una vez más el Congreso tenía que decidir el ganador al no haber obtenido ningún candidato mayoría absoluta. La realidad era, sin embargo, dramática. El país entero sabía que el golpe de estado llegaría, lo único que quedaba como interrogante era cuando. Los militares se jactaban de su poder y de que interrumpirían el proceso en cualquier momento, lo hacían en privado y en público. El gobierno estaba absolutamente inerte para evitar esa situación y simplemente apostaba a durar lo más que le fuera posible. En esas condiciones, el 17 de julio, 18 días después de las elecciones, se produjo el golpe de García Meza.</p> <p>De Mesa Figueroa, José, et. al. 2001. <i>Historia de Bolivia</i>. La Paz: Imprenta Don Bosco.</p>
<p>Bolivia 1985</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The Congress appointed as president the runner up candidate, Víctor Paz Estenssoro. The candidate that had the plurality of votes and was not appointed by Congress, General Hugo Banzer, signed a treaty for the Democracy and Peace recognizing the election of Paz E.</p>	<p>Election date: 14 de julio de 1985 Winner: Hugo Banzer Suárez - Acuerdo Patriótico Runner-up candidate: Víctor Paz Estenssoro - Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario</p> <p>Confirmación por el Congreso (4 de agosto de 1985): Víctor Paz Estenssoro</p> <p>Amid the hyperinflationary economic crisis of 1984-5, Siles Zuazo resigned and the date of the next election was brought forward, leading to the election of Victor Paz Estenssoro in 1985. Paz was the first elected president to serve out a full constitutional presidential term in power since 1964. At the outset of the transition, party politics in Bolivia were characterized by a number of features. Firstly, the record of the main political forces in the country, chief amongst them the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), and more recently Banzer's Action Democrática Nacionalista (ADN), indicated a peak commitment to democratic politics. Factions in both parties had shown few qualms about supporting military solutions to constitutional stalemates. Secondly, parties were highly polarized and susceptible to ideological splits, traits made more pronounced by the personalist, top-down way in which they were structured. Indeed, the rules of the electoral system itself encouraged factionalism, especially after the 1980 electoral law introduced a high level of proportional representation. Thirdly, political parties were operating in a context of rapidly changing social expectations and demands as the electorate came to prefer moderate, non-ideological political options.</p>

			<p>Pilar Domingo. 2001. "Party Politics, Intermediation and Representation." In John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead, eds. <i>Towards Democratic Viability. The Bolivian Experience</i>. New York: Palgrave.</p> <p>HUGO BANZER SUAREZ (1926) En 1985 ganó las elecciones presidenciales por mayoría relativa (33% frente al 30% de Paz E.), pero fue derrotado por Paz en la elección congresal. En octubre del mismo año firmó el Pacto por la Democracia con Paz apoyando su gobierno. (p. 700)</p> <p>LAS ELECCIONES DE 1985 El 14 de Julio de 1985 se llevaron a cabo las elecciones presidenciales con la participación de 18 candidatos (el numero mas alto en nuestra historia). Obtuvo el triunfo el Gral. Hugo Banzer Suárez de ADN con el 28,57 %, seguido por Víctor Paz Estenssoro del MNR con el 26,42 %, Jaime Paz Zamora del MIR con el 8,86% y Roberto Jordán Pando del MNRI con el 4,77 %. El resultado reflejó el temperamento del país. El resultado reflejó el temperamento del país. El voto castigo para el gobierno fue categórico y cayó sobre el candidato del MNRI que no pudo alcanzar el 5 % de los votos. La tendencia del electorado dio un giro que marcaba las nuevas tendencias ideológicas tras el hundimiento del estatismo, pasó de posiciones de centro izquierda e izquierda a un centro y centro derecha; con los años el centrismo fue la posición mayoritaria del votante a la que se acercaron también los principales partidos políticos. Fue muy significativo el triunfo de Banzer, apenas siete años después de su gobierno dictatorial, que marcó un giro de su rol en la historia contemporánea del país. A partir de entonces sus aportes a la consolidación democrática fueron muy significativos. Por prescripción constitucional, el parlamento tuvo que decidir la elección. Por primera vez en la historia de Bolivia el congreso eligió al segundo, Víctor Paz Estenssoro por 94 votos contra 51 de Banzer. El fuerte componente antibanzerista de ios partidos de izquierda, las heridasv todavía muy frescas de la dictadura y la decisión del MIR, contribuyeron al triunfo de Paz E., que se consagró así por cuarta vez como Presidente de Bolivia, acompañado en la vicepresidencia por Julio Garrett Ayllón.</p> <p>De Mesa Figueroa, José, et. al. 2001. <i>Historia de Bolivia</i>. La Paz: Imprenta Don Bosco.</p>
Bolivia 1989	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0	Sánchez de Lozada won the plurality of votes, but after a coalition between the second and third places, the Congress appointed as president to	<p>Election date: Domingo 7 de mayo de 1989 Winner: Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada - Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Runner-up candidate: Hugo Banzer Suárez - Acuerdo Patriótico</p>

		<p>Jaime Paz, the third place in the elections. The Electoral Court manipulated the results of the election as consequence of the MIR and AND alliance. Sánchez de Lozada and the MNR filed legal suits before the Electoral Court, who refused to hear their arguments, and as consequence they appealed before the Supreme Court.</p>	<p>Las elecciones presidenciales bolivianas de 1989 se realizaron el domingo 7 de mayo de 1989. Como ningún candidato obtuvo más de la mitad de los votos, correspondió al Congreso Nacional designar al presidente entre los candidatos más votados, siendo elegido Jaime Paz Zamora (tercer lugar). Wikipedia.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>En 1989 Banzer fue derrotado por el candidato movimientista Sánchez de Lozada, pero le bloqueó la Presidencia al aliarse de manera inesperada con su ex-enemigo Jaime Paz. Tras co-gobernar otros cuatro años, Banzer volvió a perder la elección en 1993 frente a Sánchez de Lozada, pero ADN ya era un partido clave del espectro adherido a los principios liberales de economía abierta. Este hecho se probó cuando finalmente Banzer logró acceder a la presidencia por la vía del voto al ganar las elecciones de 1997 con un muy estrecho 22 % de los votos. (717)</p> <p>El 7 de mayo de 1989 se realizaron las elecciones presidenciales. Ganó por estrecho margen un candidato sorpresa, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada del MNR con el 23 %, seguido de Hugo Banzer de ADN con el 22,7 %, y Jaime Paz del MIR con el 19,6 %. Sánchez de Lozada había sido el pilar más firme de apoyo a Paz en la aplicación de la nueva política económica. Logró derrotar a Guillermo Bedregal en la convención del MNR y ser nominado candidato. En enero de 1989 su expectativa de voto era del 7 %, muy por debajo de Banzer y Paz Zamora.</p> <p>El inesperado triunfo de Sánchez de Lozada condujo a un proceso de manipulación de resultados en la corte electoral en virtud de una alianza MIR-ADN, sobre la frase del «triple empate» acuñada por el dirigente mirista Osear Eid. El resultado fue un estrechamiento de diferencias y una decisión insólita: Hugo Banzer decidió apoyar al tercero y unirlo Presidente. El congreso consagró Presidente a Jaime Paz el 4 de agosto de 1993. Lo acompañó como vicepresidente el candidato de la fórmula de Banzer, el Dr. Luis Ossio Sanjinés militante de la Democracia Cristiana. Fue la única vez en la historia que el congreso con su voto ungió como Presidente a quien salió tercero en la elección directa. Paz Zamora se posesionó el 6 de agosto de 1989, además de cruzar las fórmulas eligiendo un Presidente de una y un vicepresidente de otra. (753)</p> <p>De Mesa Figueroa, José, et. al. 2001. <i>Historia de Bolivia</i>. La Paz: Imprenta Don Bosco.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El 27 de mayo de 1989, el Lic. Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada presentó un recurso de nulidad planteado por el MNR ante la Corte Nacional Electoral por múltiples irregularidades en los cómputos de departamentales de Oruro, Beni y Potosí.</p>
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			<p>El 29 de mayo de 1989, el MNR formalizó su demanda de anulación total de las elecciones ante la Corte Suprema de Justicia ante la negativa de la Corte Nacional Electoral de escuchar sus testimonios.</p> <p><i>Fuente:</i> Demandas presentadas a la Corte Nacional Electoral y a la Corte Suprema de Justicia. En LEY ELECTORAL DE 8 DE ABRIL DE 1980, LEY No. 857 DE 20 DE MAYO DE 1986, SERVANDO SERRANO TORRICO, REPUBLICA DE BOLIVIA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>La proximidad de los resultados, tanto en el plano nacional como departamental, trasladó la batalla post-electoral a las Cortes Electorales. Estas, formadas por delegados de los partidos mayoritarios (MNR, ADN, MIR), tenían la facultad de aceptar o rechazar los cómputos efectuados en las mesas de sufragio. También debían proceder a los cálculos para designar a los parlamentarios a partir de una ley electoral ambigua sobre este punto 259. La conjunción de estos elementos politizó el recuento de votos: cada partido intentó aumentar su bancada parlamentaria.</p> <p>Frente al triunfador MNR, un acuerdo tácito se entabló entre el MIR y ADN en las Cortes Electorales con un doble objetivo. Por una parte, intentó limitar la victoria del MNR, para mostrar que no era el único aspirante legítimo a la Presidencia. Este reaccionó enérgicamente, presentó ante la Corte Suprema de Justicia un recurso que, en la práctica, pedía anular el escrutinio. La demanda aisló aún más al partido gubernamental, reforzó la solidaridad entre el MIR y ADN, mientras que la Corte Suprema actuó con prudencia, sabiendo que ese pedido constituía un arma para mejorar un juego político. Finalmente el máximo tribunal de justicia retardó su decisión, aguardando la solución política.</p> <p>Por otra parte, el entendimiento se dirigió a influir en la composición del Congreso: todo curul "suplementario" fortalecía la posición y la capacidad negociadora del partido beneficiario. El MIR y ADN procuraron restringir la brigada parlamentaria del MNR, que resultó a pesar de ello la más numerosa. También una lectura restrictiva de las disposiciones sobre la elección de diputados penalizó a las formaciones minoritarias, cuyas protestas, aunque impactaron a la opinión pública, fueron vanas para revisar la composición del Congreso. El MNR contó con la mayoría congresal relativa (49), seguido por ADN (47), el MIR (40), CONDEPA (11) y la IU (10). Como la Constitución exige 79 parlamentarios de 157 para elegir al Presidente de la República, un acuerdo entre dos de los tres grandes partidos era indispensable para lograrlo.</p>
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			<p>Una vez conocidos los resultados oficiales y la nómina de parlamentarios, semanas después del escrutinio, las tácticas se modificaron. El MIR y ADN se distanciaron pues cada uno aspiraba a la Presidencia, al igual que el MNR. Las ambiciones contrapuestas no permitían disipar el clima áspero e incierto, pesar de las promesas partidarias de evitar el “empantanamiento” de 1979. Ese recuerdo inquietaba: una situación parecida minaría las reformas y pondría en (114) peligro al sistema democrático. El resultado final no debe ocultar que durante el invierno de 1989 el régimen político rozó el abismo.</p> <p>Las posibilidades de alianza en el triángulo MNR- ADN – MIR eran limitadas, por razones externas e internas. Las primeras dependieron de la IU y de \ cuyos votos, si podían ser útiles, no bastaban a ningún candidato. La IU se excluyó del juego, decidiendo no apoyar a ningún partido para guardar la línea de oposición al modelo. En cambio CONDEPA, más allá de la ambigüedad de sus declaraciones, rechazó firmemente al MNR, acusado de cerrar RTP y buscó más bien contactos con el MIR y ADN.</p> <p>Las relaciones internas en el triángulo definieron el juego. El respaldo del MIR a ADN parecía improbable: si sus posiciones económicas no divergían sobre puntos cruciales, importantes sectores del MIR y de sus aliados se negaron tajantemente a respaldar a Banzer, identificado aún a su pasado. Tampoco la reedición de una alianza ADN-MNR en beneficio del último resultaba un camino fácil. La ruptura del pacto por la democracia y la agresiva campaña electoral del MNR dejaron resentimientos y amarguras entre los líderes de ADN, que aguardaron vanamente un desistimiento del MNR en su favor, pues el partido ganador articuló su estrategia en torno al respeto de su triunfo. Aunque los dirigentes del gobierno desearon mayoritariamente un acuerdo con ADN, un compromiso con el MIR podía encararse con más probabilidades, dado el estado de ánimo de los dirigentes de ADN.</p> <p>Éste paisaje ubicó inesperadamente al MIR en el centro, convertido en el actor con mayores chances de acuerdo y con menores reacciones de rechazo. Desplazó de ese lugar privilegiado al MNR, que creyó por largo tiempo ser el centro de la tríada, capaz de negociar con su izquierda (MIR) o su derecha (ADN) y descartó, como gran parte de la opinión pública, una alianza MIRADN, sin aquilatar que el MIR se convertía en la llave de la futura coalición, recibiendo propuestas cada vez más explícitas para formar un gobierno.</p> <p>Así, el MNR le propuso integrar un gobierno de “centro- izquierda” presidido por Sánchez de Lozada, repartiendo equitativamente los ministerios, estaMeciendo una alianza que intervenga como tal en las elecciones y la puesta en marcha de una política social. El MIR postergó su respuesta, juzgado estar en posición de fuerza; el cálculo fue confirmado cuando Banzer renunció a</p>
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			<p>la presidencia en beneficio de Paz Z. Paralelamente el MIR y ADN crearon el AP, muchos de cuyos rasgos recordaban la oferta del MNR al MIR. Paz Z. Apoyado por ADN y CONDEPA que, sin embargo, no integró el gobierno, fue elegido (115) Presidente de la República por el Parlamento para el periodo comprendido entre 1989- 1993.</p> <p>El Acuerdo Patriótico se comprende a la luz de dos condiciones: en el nivel más superficial, las estrategias partidarias, y en un nivel más profundo, los cambios sobrevenidos desde 1985. Entre las primeras, para ADN, la experiencia del Pacto por la democracia y el temor que sus sectores más jóvenes y dinámicos sean absorbidos por el carisma de Sánchez de Lozada, quizá más próximo de ellos que Banzer, disminuyó la atracción de una unión con el MNR. Sin embargo, una alianza con otro partido parecía remota, por su imagen en la izquierda. Durante la fase postelectoral, la dirección de ADN intentó superar la traba, romper su dependencia respecto al MNR, multiplicando los pasos hacia un MIR dubitativo y prudente. Aunque luchó hasta el final para elegir a Banzer, afirmar que Paz Z. Debió la Presidencia tanto a los esfuerzos del MIR como de ADN sería un humorismo, pero no muy alejado de la realidad. (116)</p> <p>Romero Ballivian, Salvador. 1995. <i>Electores en época de transición</i>. La Paz: Plural editores/ Neftalí Lorenzo editores.</p>
Bolivia 1993	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Hugo Banzer ended up in the second place of the elections, but no candidate had more than half of the votes, and therefore the Congress had to choose the president, but Banzer retired his candidacy from the Congressional election, allowing Sánchez de Lozada being elected.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 6 de junio de 1993 Winner: Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada - Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Runner-up candidate: Hugo Banzer Suárez - Acuerdo Patriótico</p> <p>LAS ELECCIONES DE 1993 El 6 de junio de 1993 se llevaron a cabo elecciones presidenciales. Ganó con holgura Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada del MNR con el 34 % de los votos, seguido por Hugo Banzer del AP con 21 %, Carlos Palenque de CONDEPA con 14 % y Max Fernández de UCS con 13 %. El parlamento ratificó por primera vez desde 1982 al ganador por mayoría relativa, consagrando primer mandatario a Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada y vicepresidente a Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, quien fue el primer aimara en ocupar tan alto cargo en nuestra historia. (762)</p> <p>A llegada de Sánchez de Lozada a la presidencia coincidió con un momento crucial para el país, habían pasado dos períodos desde el comienzo de la aplicación de la nueva política económica, de la que él mismo fue gestor y se hacía indispensable un salto cualitativo que transformara la estructura social y económica del país, que respondiera al desafío de un nuevo estado que sustituyera el agotado andamiaje que el MNR había fundado en 1952. (763)</p>

			<p>En 1993, Sánchez de Lozada arrasó en las urnas y con la ayuda del MBL de Antonio Aranibar dio paso al proceso de Participación Popular, la capitalización de las empresas del Estado y la reforma de pensiones, epilogando su gobierno con el regreso de la osamenta de Che Guevara a Cuba, lo que pareció confirmar la imagen de “neoliberal de extrema izquierda” que tanto complacía a Goni. http://www.hss.de/fileadmin/americalatina/Bolivia/downloads/87_25_AÑOS_DE_DEMOCRACIA_EN_BOLIVIA_TOMO_I.pdf</p> <p>En las elecciones del 6 de junio de 1993, Banzer, cabeza del AP ahora cuatripartito, sólo alcanzó el 20% de los votos frente al 33,8% de Sánchez de Lozada. Con su acceso a la Presidencia, Sánchez se desquitaba de la maniobra de 1989, aunque Banzer facilitó su investidura al retirarse de la votación parlamentaria, preceptiva siempre que no se alcance el 50% de los sufragios en las urnas. En las legislativas, el AP sumó 43 congresistas, de los que 24 eran adenistas. Decididamente, los resultados electorales fueron muy insatisfactorios. http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/imf/bolivia/hugo_banzer.htm</p>
Bolivia 1997	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Given that no candidate had half of the votes plus one, one mega congressional coalition appointed Banzer as president.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 1 de junio de 1997 Winner: Hugo Banzer Suárez – ADN 22.3% Runner-up candidate: Juan Carlos Duran Saucedo – MNR 18.2%</p> <p>Las elecciones presidenciales bolivianas de 1997 se realizaron el domingo 1 de junio de 1997. Como ningún candidato obtuvo más de la mitad de los votos, el Congreso Nacional decidió entre los candidatos con mayor votación. Hugo Banzer Suárez fue reelegido presidente. (Wikipedia)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Tras cinco intentos infructuosos, Banzer consiguió imponerse por fin el 1 de junio de 1997 con el 22,3% sobre Juan Carlos Durán Saucedo, del MNR, Paz Zamora y Remedios Loza Alvarado, de Conciencia de Patria (Condepa). Esta vez se aseguró la votación parlamentaria tras pactar el denominado Compromiso por Bolivia, el 4 de junio, con el MIR, el PDC, Condepa, la Nueva Fuerza Republicana (NFR) y la Unión Cívica Solidaridad (UCS), fuerzas que, además de la FSB, el Frente Revolucionario de Izquierda (FRI) y Katarismo Nacionalista Democrático (KND), pasaron a integrar la megacoalición de Gobierno, la más amplia desde la restauración de la democracia.</p>

			<p>El 5 de agosto Banzer fue investido por el Congreso con 118 votos contra 30, y al día siguiente tomó posesión de su mandato quinquenal en una ceremonia a la que asistieron seis presidentes de la zona. En su primer mensaje a la nación, el flamante presidente subrayó su promesa de derrotar a la pobreza, el narcotráfico y la corrupción, y si bien insistió en que crearía condiciones para imponer la justicia social en el país, no planteó programas concretos alternativos al modelo económico vigente desde 1985.</p> <p>La torna de Banzer, además de un premio a su tenacidad, constituyó un hecho inédito en Sudamérica, donde hasta él ningún antiguo dictador militar había regresado al poder como civil por la vía democrática del voto popular. Su éxito radicó, ciertamente, en la promesa de luchar contra la pobreza y las deficiencias de los servicios sociales, olvidados tras varios años de políticas económicas liberales. Por otro lado, su ideario tradicional de orden, estabilidad, trabajo y familia resultaba atractivo tanto al campesinado conservador como a las clases medias urbanas.</p> <p>http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/imf/bolivia/hugo_banzer.htm</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El electorado llegó a la cita con las urnas del 1 de junio de 1997 con una sensación de malestar y con una opinión mayoritariamente crítica con la gestión de Goni, mayormente visto como un estadista más preocupado en acometer las reformas estructurales caras a la gran empresa y el gran capital que en romper los esquemas socioeconómicos tradicionales, padecidos por millones de bolivianos. En estas condiciones, el candidato del oficialismo, el senador y vicejefe del MNR Juan Carlos Durán Saucedo, tenía bien pocas posibilidades frente al contumaz Banzer, quien, ahora sí (era su sexto envite desde 1979), triunfó en las urnas y en el Congreso.</p> <p>Se trataba de dar una oportunidad al ya septuagenario ex dictador reconvertido en demócrata, quien no dejó de hacer todas las promesas de índole social insoslayables en estas situaciones, aunque tampoco planteó ningún programa concreto que entrara en conflicto con el modelo económico vigente desde 1985, luego su presidencia no parecía que fuera a inaugurar una alternativa a la obra del Gobierno de Sánchez. Durán sólo recogió el 17,7% de los votos en unas elecciones por lo demás muy fraccionadas: los tres candidatos siguientes, Paz Zamora, Ivo Kuljis Fuchtnor por la UCS y Remedios Loza Alvarado por Condepa, se adjudicaron aproximadamente un 16% de cuota electoral cada uno. <u>En las legislativas, el descenso del voto del MNR se tradujo en 26 diputados y tres senadores, esto es, un considerable retroceso con respecto a 1993.</u></p> <p>El 6 de agosto de 1997 Sánchez hizo entrega de la Presidencia a Banzer, quien formó la llamada megacoalición de Gobierno con todos los partido parlamentarios, más unos cuantos</p>
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			<p>extraparlamentarios, a excepción del MBL y la Izquierda Unida. Semejante frente gubernamental auguraba una débil oposición del MNR, aunque luego la alianza banzerista se fue desintegrando a medida que crecía la contestación popular por el encarecimiento de la cesta de la compra y los progresos, contra viento y marea, del programa de erradicación de cocales.</p> <p>http://www.cidob.org/es/documentacio/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_del_sur/bolivia/gonzalo_sanchez_de_lozada</p> <p>Barcelona Center for International Affairs</p>
Bolivia 2002	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The outcomes were acknowledged without major protest by all contenders. No military meddling, no major street rallies to contest the outcome, no politician threatening to reject the results, interfered with the process. Minor protests, accusations of petty fraud at specific polling stations and bold declarations by Evo Morales, who finished second in the polls.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 30 de junio de 2002 Winner: Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada - MNR Runner-up candidate: Evo Morales – MAS</p> <p>El 30 de junio de 2002 Morales no ganó porque la situación no estaba del todo madura para el convencimiento general de lo que le decía al electorado, que Bolivia, un país rico en recursos naturales pero esquilado y depredado por una serie ininterrumpida de dictaduras corruptas, mafias políticas y multinacionales avariciosas, tenía que "gobernarse por sí mismo" y recuperar un patrimonio enajenado. En otras palabras, no ganó porque el descrédito de los partidos y políticos tradicionales de raigambre europea aún no había tocado fondo y porque el hartazgo de la inmensa mayoría de ese 85% de bolivianos indígenas y mestizos (aymaras y quechuas solos suman aproximadamente el 60%) por la perpetuación de las escandalosas desigualdades en el reparto de la renta nacional y por la marginación socioeconómica que padecían, todavía requería el catalizador definitivo.</p> <p>Con todo, el rendimiento electoral del candidato y su partido fue óptimo, por no decir espectacular y asombroso: en las presidenciales, Morales alcanzó el 20,9% de los votos, situándose ligeramente por encima del que partió como el gran favorito, Manfred Reyes Villa, de la NFR, y a sólo 1,6 puntos de Sánchez de Lozada, que buscaba su segundo mandato. El mirista Paz Zamora fue cuarto con el 16,3% y en quinto lugar, con el 6,1%, quedó el otro candidato indígena, Felipe Quispe Huanca, secretario ejecutivo de la CSUTCB, líder del partido Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti (MIP) y Mallku (Cóndor, un título de caudillaje tradicional) de los aymaras.</p> <p>En las legislativas, el MAS sacó un porcentaje bastante más modesto, el 11,9%, lo que se tradujo en 27 diputados y ocho senadores, convirtiéndose en la segunda fuerza parlamentaria detrás de la alianza del MNR y el Movimiento Bolivia Libre (MBL). Morales se presentó también a diputado y en esta elección ganó el escaño por su circunscripción con el 81,3% de los sufragios. Los masistas irrumpieron con tanta fuerza en el sistema de partidos que fueron los más votados en los</p>

			<p>departamentos altos de La Paz, Oruro y Potosí, amén del bastión de Cochabamba, donde Morales obtuvo el 37,6%. En Santa Cruz, el MAS tuvo una cuota del 9,6% y llevó a la Cámara de Diputados al líder de los indios del departamento, José Bailaba Parapaino, cabeza de la Coordinadora de Pueblos Étnicos de Santa Cruz (CPESC), que había aceptado presentarse en su lista.</p> <p>La Constitución requería que, puesto que ningún candidato había alcanzado en las urnas la mayoría absoluta el 50% más uno de los votos –lo que no sucedía desde 1966, cuando el autócrata castrense de aquellos años, el general René Barrientos Ortuño, arrasó en unas elecciones que no reunían garantías democráticas-, fuera el Congreso el encargado de elegir al presidente de entre los dos candidatos más votados en la elección directa.</p> <p>Allí, donde la partidocracia tradicional reunía una holgada mayoría, Morales, el aspirante hostil a la "oligarquía" blanca-criolla, el indígena outsider y protestón, no tenía ninguna posibilidad de ganar la partida: el 4 de agosto, días después de que el Constitucional, con el argumento jurídico de que habían sido computados como votos favorables al desafuero una decena de abstenciones, fallara a favor del líder socialista en su demanda de nulidad de la resolución parlamentaria de enero (Morales, luego, renunció a que se le abonaran las remuneraciones como diputado retenidas desde febrero), Sánchez de Lozada, con los votos del MNR, el MBL, el MIR, la ADN y la UCS, fue votado en el cargo.</p> <p>Todo sugiere que el Gobierno de Washington advirtió a su homólogo de La Paz de que se jugaba la certificación, plasmada en 90 millones de dólares anuales en ayudas, si el Congreso invertía a Morales. De hecho, cuatro días antes de las elecciones, el entonces embajador, Manuel Rocha, diplomático muy aficionado a entrometerse en los asuntos internos del país anfitrión con mensajes de orientación política y apodado por ello el Virrey, se permitió recordar a los bolivianos que si elegían "a los que quieren que Bolivia vuelva a ser un exportador de cocaína importante, ese resultado pondrá en peligro el futuro de la ayuda de los Estados Unidos". La injerencia, lo único que consiguió fue dar más votos a Morales, quien respondió al embajador dándole "las gracias" por su exhortación.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Oct 17, 2002 - AUTO CONSTITUCIONAL 493/2002-CA ... Recurso directo de nulidad interpuesto por Evo Morales Ayma, Felix Santos Zambrana, para interponer los recursos y demandas constitucionales previstos en la presente Ley, ...</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The outcomes, surprising as they were, were acknowledged without major protest by all contenders. No military meddling, no major street rallies to contest the outcome, no politician threatening to</p>
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			<p>reject the results, I interfered with the process. Minor protests, accusations of petty fraud at specific polling stations and bold declarations by Evo Morales, who finished second in the polls and is considered a radical pain in the neck by most established parties and the USA, did not have enough weight to damage the image of orderly and 'normal' democracy.</p> <p>(1. To be precise, there was one: Manfred Reyes of NFR. His protest however was, according to most comments, inspired only by deception and envy, and by anger about how he blew his own campaign because of overt lying and contradicting him- self, and because of his connections with the Moon Sect, which made many Catholics opt for another choice. As a result of all this, he came in third instead of second, as polls had suggested. His Philippic, most comments concurred, reflected pettiness and not a serious accusation of fraud.)</p> <p>Since none of the candidates won a straight majority, according to Bolivian rules a new president was to be elected by Congress from the two frontrunners, MNR candidate and former president Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and MAS candidate and coca growers' leader Evo Morales. On 4 August Sanchez de Lozada was elected and a few days later he assumed office.</p> <p>Assies, Willem and Ton Salman. 2003. "Crisis in Bolivia: The Elections of 2002 and their Aftermath." <i>Institute of Latin American Studies. Research Papers</i>. London: University of London. http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/3405/1/B38 - _Crisis in Bolivia The Elections of 2002 and their Aftermath.pdf</p>
<p>Bolivia 2005</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Jorge Quiroga admitted defeat by 9:00 p.m. the day of the election in a televised speech.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 18 de diciembre de 2005 Winner: Evo Morales – MAS Runner-up candidate: Jorge Quiroga – PODEMOS</p> <p>General elections were held in Bolivia on 18 December 2005. Evo Morales of the Movement for Socialism (MAS) party was elected President with 54% of the vote, the first time a candidate had received an absolute majority since the flawed 1978 elections.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mr. Morales, 46, an Aymara Indian and former coca farmer who also promises to roll back American-prescribed economic changes, had garnered up to 51 percent of the vote, according to televised quick-count polls, which tally a sample of votes at polling places and are considered highly accurate.</p>

			<p>At 9 p.m., his leading challenger, Jorge Quiroga, 45, an American-educated former president who was trailing by as much as 20 percentage points, admitted defeat in a nationally televised speech.</p> <p>At his party's headquarters in Cochabamba, Mr. Morales said his win signaled that "a new history of Bolivia begins, a history where we search for equality, justice and peace with social justice."</p> <p>"As a people who fight for their country and love their country, we have enormous responsibility to change our history," he said.</p> <p>Mr. Quiroga's concession signaled that he was prepared to step aside and avoid a protracted selection process in Congress, which, under Bolivian law, would choose between the top two finishers if neither obtained at least 50 percent of the vote.</p> <p>"I congratulate Evo Morales," Mr. Quiroga said in a somber speech.</p> <p>The National Electoral Court had not tabulated results on Sunday night, though Mr. Morales echoed the early polls and claimed to have won a majority.</p> <p>His margin of victory appeared to be a resounding win that delivered the kind of mandate two of his predecessors, both of whom were forced to resign, never had. Eduardo Gamarra, a Bolivian-born political analyst from Florida International University in Miami, said Mr. Morales could be on his way to becoming "the president with the most legitimacy since the transition to democracy" from dictatorship a generation ago.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/19/international/americas/19bolivia.html?_r=0</p>
<p>Bolivia 2009</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Rival candidades conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 6 de diciembre de 2009 Winner: Evo Morales, MAS Runner-up candidate: Manfred Reyes Villa - Plan Progreso para Bolivia-Convergencia Nacional</p> <p>Evo Morales wins landslide victory in Bolivian presidential elections Morales supporters celebrate in La Paz as rival candidates concede defeat http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/dec/07/morales-presidential-victory The explosive apex of Evo's power</p>

			<p>A triumphant Evo Morales has won a second term. But the going will not necessarily get any easier for his social revolution</p> <p>But a lacklustre opposition, weakened after losing a two-year battle over the new constitution, also contributed to Mr Morales's victory. Manfred Reyes Villa, a former army officer, won around 27% of the vote, while Samuel Doria Medina, a cement magnate, got about 8%. The opposition's division enabled the MAS to win extra seats in Congress. Voting appeared to go cleanly, helped by a new electoral register. But opponents complained that they could not match the campaign resources of the MAS. Mr Morales got favourable treatment from expanded state-owned media. http://www.economist.com/node/15065929</p> <p>Los bolivianos eligen a Evo Morales como presidente para un segundo mandato La oposición reconoce la derrota</p> <p>Los principales opositores de Evo Morales a la Presidencia de Bolivia han reconocido su derrota y han prometido desempeñar una oposición constructiva y responsable con los bolivianos que les apoyaron, tras el resultado de los sondeos.</p> <p>El líder del Plan Progreso para Bolivia-Convergencia Nacional (PPB-CN), el ex prefecto Manfred Reyes Villa, agradeció desde Santa Cruz a los bolivianos que apoyaron "una visión de país que quiere recuperar la república y fortalecer el estado de derecho".</p> <p>"Ha sido una batalla dura en contra de la mentira, de la persecución política", dijo Reyes Villa en referencia a la campaña electoral.</p> <p>El candidato de PPB-CN, segundo en las votaciones pero a casi 40 puntos de Morales según los sondeos, prometió que su partido será "la trinchera del equilibrio de la democracia", y aseguró que los diputados de su partido serán una "oposición constructiva".</p> <p>"Vamos a seguir luchando por la democracia, por el país, y por todos los que han apostado por eso", añadió Reyes Villa. http://www.elmundo.es/americ/2009/12/06/noticias/1260137599.html</p>
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Brazil 1985-2010

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Brazil 1985	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	The election of 1985 was a political agreement between the main political forces, and the President was elected by the parties represented in Congress with an overwhelming majority.	<p><i>Election date:</i> January 15, 1985 <i>Winner:</i> Tancredo Neves, PMDB <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Paulo Salim Maluf, PDS.</p> <p>The 1985 Brazilian presidential election was the last to be held indirectly through an electoral college, represented by the members of the National Congress (formed by Senators and Federal Deputies). On January 15, 1985, the Congress gathered to vote for the presidential election. Tancredo Neves was elected President with 480 votes (72,4%) against only 180 (27,3%) given to Maluf. There were 26 abstentions, mostly from parliamentarians from the Workers' Party, which decided to maintain its neutrality and support neither of the candidates.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>A principios de 1985 se consumó la apertura, con la elección (indirecta, en el Congreso) de un presidente civil, después de las negociaciones que se produjeron a finales del año anterior. El Mineiro Tancredo Neves fue elegido presidente por el Colegio Electoral, formado por diputados y senadores.</p> <p>Aunque se realizó mediante un modelo restringido, la elección de Tancredo simbolizaba el retorno del gobierno civil. Se inauguraba el periodo que pasó a denominarse «Nova República», en realidad una habilísima «Conciliación desde arriba». O, a juicio de algunos politólogos como Michel Debrun, no se verificó una transición de un régimen a otro, sino una transacción, un arreglo.¹⁰⁹</p> <p>Tancredo falleció el 21 de abril de 1985, antes de la toma de posesión. El vicepresidente electo por el Colegio Electoral, José Sarney, asumió la Presidencia de la República. De nuevo, las distintas fuerzas organizadas de la sociedad civil se manifestaron e impusieron la convocatoria de una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente. Para ello, se eligieron diputados y en 1986 se instaló no la Asamblea, sino un Congreso Constituyente. En 1988, el Congreso promulgó una nueva Constitución, la denominada «Constitución ciudadana», que examinaremos más adelante. (p. 621)</p> <p>Durante todo el año 1984, el país asistió a una movilización sin precedentes: en todas las ciudades y capitales, la población manifestó su repudio a las elecciones indirectas y exigió el voto directo</p>

		<p>para presidente. La mayor de ellas, realizada en Sao Paulo, reunió aproximadamente a un millón y medio de personas en el Valle del Anhangabaú. Aun así el gobierno resistía con firmeza a la apertura completa: la Enmienda Constitucional que restablecía las elecciones directas fue rechazada por el Congreso. El presidente Figueiredo, poniendo de manifiesto el temor del Sistema a la democracia plena, convocó un Colegio Electoral formado por diputados y senadores para que eligiera a su sucesor, siguiendo así el mismo procedimiento con el que habían sido «elegidos» todos los presidentes militares. El próximo presidente de la República, una vez más, sería elegido por el voto indirecto... (p.637)</p> <p>En la elección dentro del Colegio Electoral, Paulo Maluf, el candidato del Sistema, representaba una facción del partido del gobierno, el PDS. Por la oposición, Tancredo de Almeida Neves, del PMDB, ex ministro de Vargas y ex primer ministro en el interludio parlamentarista, representaba a la alianza del Frente Liberal, pactada entre una facción del PDS, liderada por José Sarney, y los partidos de oposición al régimen militar, sin incluir al Partido de los Trabajadores (PT). La coalición articulada por estas fuerzas políticas formó la Alianza Democrática. 20 (20. Una descripción de esas negociaciones fue hecha por Fernando Henrique en el capítulo «Aprendendo na Política», en su libro <i>A Arte da Política</i>, cit., pp. 92-100, especialmente.) (p.638)</p> <p>Carlos Guilherme Mota y Adriana López. 2009. <i>Historia de Brasil: una interpretación</i>. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.</p> <p>Tancredo Neves promete que el próximo presidente de Brasil será elegido por sufragio universal</p> <p>El presidente electo de Brasil, Tancredo Neves, ha prometido restaurar el voto popular directo para la elección de sus sucesores. Después de conocer su victoria el martes en el colegio electoral -69%, frente al 26% del candidato oficialista, Paulo Maluf-, [...] Neves agradeció a las fuerzas minadas por no interferir en el proceso de la vuelta del país a la democracia y destacó la gestión de su predecesor, Joao Figueiredo, quinto presidente desde el golpe de 1964.</p> <p>"Si hubiera ganado Maluf, a los tres meses de gobierno habría hecho tales bestialidades que el pueblo me añoraría. Ahora, con Tancredo, van a perseguirme a mí y a mi familia. Sólo me quedan dos meses de tranquilidad". Éste es uno de los comentarios filtrados desde las habitaciones del general Figueiredo, en la clínica San José de Río de Janeiro, y que ha tenido que ser rebatido por figuras de la oposición triunfante.</p> <p>Por lo demás, la elección del martes fue celebrada fríamente por la población, ajena a un guiso político cocinado a sus espaldas, pese a los festejos callejeros organizados por los partidos de la oposición. En Río de Janeiro, 2.000 o 3.000 sambistas en la plaza de Cinelandia y, eso sí, toneladas</p>
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			<p>de papel picado y miles de rollos de papel higiénico arrojado a la calle desde los altos edificios del centro cuando, a media mañana, Tancredo Neves superó los 344 votos de mayoría absoluta. Todos coinciden explícitamente o con su silencio en que la elección carece de legitimidad democrática, pero no hay más cera que la que arde ni otros bueyes con los que arar. Los tres ministros militares y el jefe del Alto Estado Mayor del Ejército han felicitado al presidente electo y le, han expresado su absoluta y, sin duda, sincera adhesión. El objetivo militar de prolongar por unos años más la transición democrática se ha visto cumplido.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1985/01/17/internacional/474764412_850215.html</p> <p>Between 1982 and 1985, the military government disintegrated as a result of the economic crisis, poor leadership, and corruption. [...] Many PDS politicians, including eight of nine PDS governors of the northeastern states and seventy of 235 federal deputies, left their party and created the Liberal Front. By July 1984, the defectors had decided to support the likely PMDB candidate for president, Tancredo Neves, a well-known centrist politician from Minas Gerais who had been a minister under Vargas and Goulart, a federal deputy, Senator (1978-82), and governor (1983-84). (p.96) Neves skillfully broadened his coalition, assured the military that no radical changes would occur, and won acceptance within the armed forces. Arguing that ousting the military had to be the foremost objective, he persuaded almost all of the opposition to agree to focus on an electoral-college victory. He cut deals with ex-PDS elites, promising them prominent positions in the new government in return for delivering electoral college votes (Mainwaring 1986; Hagopian 1992, 1996). Among other concessions was one that at the time seemed innocuous: Senator Jose Sarney, who had been the president of the PDS but had defected to the Liberal Front, would get the vice-presidential slot. (p.97)</p> <p>In January 1985, the PFL helped elect Neves president and Sarney vice president. The final tally in the electoral college was 480 to 180, making Neves the first civilian elected president since 1960. (p.98)</p> <p>Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. <i>Rethinking the Party System in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil</i>. Stanford: Stanford University Press.</p>
<p>Brazil 1989</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Lula conceded defeat and said that “Fernando Collor de Mello is the winner and that must be respected.”</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> November 15, 1989 <i>Winner:</i> Fernando Collor, (PRN, PSC, PTR, PST) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, (PT, PSB, PC do B)</p>

			<p>The 1989 presidential elections were marked by the climate of economic deterioration, near hyperinflation, and an erosion of political legitimacy and credibility. The new rules for presidential elections encouraged a proliferation of candidates, and the discrediting of the parties in power opened the doors to new contenders. Under the aegis of first-place finisher Fernando Collor de Mello, who captured 28.5 percent of the vote, a new conservative party, the PRN (Party of National Reconstruction) burst onto the scene (see Table 4-6). Collor ran a populist, somewhat demagogic campaign, emphasizing his commitment to fighting wealthy public-sector employees and corruption, shrinking and rationalizing the state, combating inflation, bettering the lot of the poor, and putting Brazil back on the path to development. The scion of a traditional political family, Collor nonetheless used his youth and his opposition to Sarney as governor of the small state of Alagoas (1987-90) to project an image of a political outsider. The fact that he could win the presidency despite not having a party organization underscored the bankruptcy of the governing parties. Before the campaign, he was not widely known outside his own state. His campaign was antiparty and antipolitician.</p> <p>The PT rallied to second place behind Luis Inacio (Lula) da Silva's 16.1 percent of the popular vote, allowing him a narrow victory over PDT candidate Leonel Brizola (15.5 percent), to make it into the runoff. Lula benefited from anti-Sarney sentiment, as the PT put in its best showing ever. The parties associated with the Sarney government, the PMDB and PFL, suffered staggering setbacks. PMDB candidate Ulysses Guimaraes won a feeble 4.7 percent of the valid vote, and PFL candidate Aureliano Chaves did not even muster 1 percent. Seventy-two million people voted, compared to 12.6 million in the previous presidential election, in 1960.</p> <p>In the contentious runoff, Collor defeated Lula by a 53 percent to 47 percent margin. Collor fared better among the poorest strata, where surveys indicated he had a 51-41 percent advantage over Lula, and worst among those who earned more than ten minimum salaries, where Lula enjoyed a 52-40 percent margin, but the correlation between income and intended vote was modest. Collor enjoyed his greatest popularity (55-38 percent) among those who had not (p.105) completed primary school and faced his biggest deficit (32-57 percent) among those who had some higher education. Here the correlation was stronger but still not overwhelming (Singer 1990:137-138; see also Kinzo 1991; Moises 1993). (p.106)</p> <p>Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. <i>Rethinking the Party System in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil</i>. Stanford: Stanford University Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Se celebraban, efectivamente, en aquel año de 1989 las primeras elecciones directas para presidente desde 1960. El candidato Lula, con mejores resultados que Brizola, pasó a la segunda vuelta³⁸. En el enfrentamiento final entre Fernando Collor de Mello, gobernador de Alagoas, representante de</p>
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			<p>los sectores más conservadores de la sociedad, y Luís Inácio «Lula» da Silva, ex sindicalista pernambucano radicado en Sao Bernardo do Campo, venció el primero, asumiendo la presidencia en 1990.</p> <p>Collor de Mello surgió como candidato prácticamente desconocido, sin programa, aparentemente distante de los grupos políticos tradicionales³⁹. Montó un gobierno de «notables» -a los cuales, también aparentemente, dio plena libertad- que incluía a...</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>SOCIALIST CONCEDES DEFEAT IN BRAZIL</p> <p>Socialist Luis Inacio Lula da Silva conceded defeat in the presidential election, but he accused conservative victor Fernando Collor de Mello of deception and pledged to build an opposition "shadow government."</p> <p>Election officials announced Tuesday that Collor de Mello, a champion of free-market policies, had won Sunday's balloting. "Fernando Collor de Mello is the winner and that must be respected. But Brazil was the big loser in the election, gained through lies and falsehoods," da Silva told a news conference in Sao Paulo.</p> <p>"He will govern in favor of big business, the armed forces, and the International Monetary Fund," de Silva said. "The Workers Party and its allies will form a shadow government to prevent Collor de Mello from committing abuses."</p> <p>With 96.7 percent of the ballots tallied, Collor de Mello of the National Reconstruction Party had 33,898,190 votes, or 42.7 percent, compared with 30,546,337, or 38.5 percent, for da Silva of the Workers Party. The rest of the votes were abstentions or nullified ballots.</p> <p>Jose Francisco Rezek, president of the Superior Electoral Court that was supervising the tally, said Collor de Mello would be declared the winner Wednesday, but an official announcement would not be made until Dec. 29.</p> <p>The election was the first direct vote for president in 29 years. Current president Jose Sarney was selected in an Electoral College vote strongly influenced by the right-wing military government that ran the country between 1964 and 1985.</p> <p>Collor de Mello has been secluded in his Brasilia mansion. Aides say he will address the nation only after election officials proclaim him the winner.</p>
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			<p>TV Globo, the nation's largest television network, ran a previously taped interview with the president-elect Tuesday night in which Collor de Mello promised a government with "dignity, austerity and character." http://www.deseretnews.com/article/77619/SOCIALIST-CONCEDES-DEFEAT-IN-BRAZIL.html?pg=all</p>
Brazil 1994	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Cardoso won in the first round, with twice the support Lula received. It was a crushing defeat of Lula. Lula and his party began a process of self-examination and reflection about the lessons from this second presidential defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 3 October 1994 <i>Winner:</i> Fernando Henrique Cardoso, PSDB (Brazilian Social Democracy Party)-PFL-PTB coalition <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, PT</p> <p>The presidential elections were won by Fernando Henrique Cardoso of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (and also supported by the Liberal Front Party and the Brazilian Labour Party),[2] who received 54.3% of the vote.[3] The Brazilian Democratic Movement Party remained the largest party in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In 1994, elections were held for the presidency, state governors, two-thirds of the senators, the entire Chamber of Deputies, and state legislatures. In the presidential campaign, the PT's Lula established an early commanding lead that collapsed after the sudden drop in inflation in July with the full implementation of a new stabilization plan. Monthly inflation fell from 47 percent in June (about 10,000 percent annualized) to 5 percent in July, 3 percent in August, 2 percent in September, and 3 percent in October.⁴ The economy continued the strong recovery that had begun in 1993. The great beneficiary of the stabilization plan was PSDB candidate Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who as finance minister during the Franco government had designed the plan shortly before resigning to run for president. In a matter of weeks, Cardoso surpassed Lula in the polls on his way to a convincing first-round victory, garnering 54.3 percent of the vote compared to 27.0 percent for Lula. (p.107)</p> <p>In 1994, parties were more important actors in the presidential campaign, largely because the elections were concurrent with legislative races. Cardoso enjoyed the support of two significant parties, the PSDB and the PFL, as well as the PTB, but he easily outpolled all three parties combined—they won 3i-9 percent of the valid popular vote for the lower chamber. Lula also far surpassed the PT's lower-chamber vote (13.2 percent), and</p>

			<p>third-place finisher Eneas Carneiro ran on a ticket (PRONA) that has never elected a single member of Congress. Conversely, the largest congressional parties once again failed to field strong presidential candidates. The candidate of the largest party in Congress (PMDB) won a meager 4.4 percent of the valid vote. The PFL, the second largest, decided not to field its own candidate because party leaders knew they did not have a viable one. The PPR, the third-largest party in Congress, captured only 2.8 percent of the presidential vote.</p> <p>Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. <i>Rethinking the Party System in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil</i>. Stanford: Stanford University Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Yet after Lula's 1994 loss, the party began a slow process of selfexamination (Azevedo, 1995, p. 210). The resolution adopted at the party's 10th national meeting in 1995 stated that "our 1994 defeat invites a cruel reflection about our image in society, about the external impact of our internal bat- tles, [and] about our ideological and political ambiguities" (Partido dos Trabalhadores, 1998, p. 629). The move from self-examination to transfor- mation did not involve a clean break with the past, as in other socialist and communist parties after the end of the cold war. The process was gradual, full of contradictions, and replete with intraparty tension (Árabe, 2001). Subsequently, the factions also divided over the causes of the party's loss in the 1994 presidential election. The "moderate" factions concluded that the PT's platform had been too narrow, whereas the "radical" factions denied that the blame rested with the party's strategy and instead blamed the loss on media manipulation, federal government favoritism, and huge campaign donations in Cardoso's favor (Azevedo, 1995, p. 158).</p> <p>Samuels, David. 2004. "FROM SOCIALISM TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. Party Organization and the Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil." <i>COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES</i>, 37(9): 999-1024. http://www.polisci.umn.edu/~dsamuels/CPS2004.pdf</p> <p>Acusado de carecer de la experiencia y la preparación para manejar los complejos asuntos de Gobierno, de no saber conducirse con la diplomacia y el pragmatismo requeridos en la política de Estado, de estar anclado en un izquierdismo trasnochado y de cultivar amistades poco recomendables en el ámbito internacional, Lula volvió a parecerle un candidato poco de fiar a una mayoría de electores. Como resultado, fue vapuleado por Cardoso en la primera ronda con el doble de votos, el 54,3% para el socialdemócrata y el 27,1% para el petista. Una compensación insuficiente por este segundo fracaso de Lula fue la captura por su partido de los gobiernos del</p>
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			<p>estado de Espírito Santo, para Vitor Buaiz, y del Distrito Federal de Brasilia, para Cristovam Buarque, más el incremento de la representación en el Legislativo federal a los 49 diputados y los cinco senadores.</p> <p>http://www.cidob.org/en/documentacio/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_del_sur/brasil/luiz_inacio_lula_da_silva</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>When the election took place at the start of October 1994, Cardoso won in the first round, with twice the support Lula received. He got 54.3 percent, or 34.3 million votes, to Lula's 27 percent, or 17.1 million. It was a crushing defeat of Lula, inconceivable two years earlier. It was overwhelmingly the result of the tangible success of the Real Plan and the public's belief that Brazil had at last acquired a solid currency, as valuable as the dollar. Although Cardoso had talked of privatizations, and financial aid for the poorest families to offset an otherwise conservative economic stance, it was the real that caused the election upset. His five fingered salute—the fingers represented his commitments to employment, health, education, security, and agriculture—was less a manifesto than a contrast to the balled fist of a striker. (p. 86)</p> <p>In fact, he thought hard about the lessons from this second presidential defeat. Lula noted that his own vote in 1994 was a great deal larger than that of his party; where necessary, he should break free from party constraints. (p.87)</p> <p>Bourne, Richard . 2008. <i>Lula of Brazil: the story so far</i>. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.</p>
<p>Brazil 1998</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Lula was knocked out in the first round by Cardoso. After this third defeat, Lula discussed with close confidants the possibility that the PT and Brazilian left might put up a different candidate in 2002.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 4 October 1998 <i>Winner:</i> Fernando Henrique Cardoso, PSDB + the Liberal Front Party and the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party. <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, PT</p> <p>General elections were held in Brazil on 4 October 1998, with a second round on 25 October. [1] In the first round Fernando Henrique Cardoso was re-elected President and the governorships of 14 states were elected, in addition to all seats in the Chamber of Deputies and Legislative Assemblies, and one third of the seats in the Federal Senate.[2] In the second round the governorships of 12 states and the Federal District were defined.[3] This election was marked by the use of voting machines for the first time ever.</p> <p>Controversies aside, then President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, backed by a coalition that included the three major parties of the time – the Liberal Front Party, the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (which offered their informal support to him), and his own Brazilian Social Democratic Party</p>

			<p>– was able to be re-elected in the first round after achieving 53% of the valid votes. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a third time candidate for the Workers' Party, came in second with almost 32% of the votes. Ciro Gomes, then a member of the Socialist People's Party came in third, with almost 11% of the votes.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>But it was hard for Lula to shift public opinion. FHCs line in television commercials was that the choice was himself or chaos, and Lula's effort to blame him for the crisis did not work. Instead, the public regarded the father of the real as a port in a storm. By 6 September, the polls were giving Cardoso a lead of 47 percent to 23 percent for Lula, and Lula was facing the prospect of being knocked out in the first round. (p.95) This is exactly what happened. Cardoso won with 35,923,259 votes to Lula's 21,470,442; the PT won only three governorships—in Rio Grande do Sul (with Olivio Dutra), in Mato Grosso do Sul, and in Acre.</p> <p>Where did this leave Lula, after his third presidential defeat? He was just short of his fifty-third birthday, on 27 October. Arguably, he had done better in his first campaign, which had forced Collor to a second round, than in either of his contests against Cardoso. In a more settled democracy, his party would almost certainly have wished to replace him, to give another candidate a chance.</p> <p>[...] Lula was a more important vote-winner than the PT. The PT was never going to be more than one of the chief political parties, and its structure assumed the persistence of factions within it. The evolution of Brazilian society, with the significance of television, advertising, and image, meant that the candidate counted for more than his party.</p> <p>In spite of his own pertinacity, his love of the limelight, and the support of his wife and family in whatever choice he made, it would have been surprising if Lula had not suffered a moment of doubt in October 1998. Shortly after his defeat, he did discuss with close confidants the possibility that the PT and Brazilian left might put up a different candidate in 2002. (p.96)</p> <p>Bourne, Richard. 2008. <i>Lula of Brazil: the story so far</i>. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.</p>
<p>Brazil 2002</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Candidate Jose Serra conceded defeat late Sunday.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> January 15, 1985 <i>Winner:</i> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, (PT, PL, PC do B, PMN, PCB, PV) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jose Serra, PSDB</p> <p>General elections were held in Brazil on 6 October 2002, with a second round on 27 October. Although Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva won the most votes in the first round, he did not manage to</p>

			<p>obtain majority of valid votes (i.e. excluding blank or void votes). This led the presidential election to a second round, which Lula won with 61.3% of valid votes.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>By 2002, the year of the next presidential election, however, Lula had amassed a large bank of personal experience and contacts. He had decided that, to win, he had to present a moderate image and break through to the majority of voters who had rejected him three times already. In some ways this was a parallel path to that taken by Tony Blair and “New Labour” in Britain, but the circumstances were different in a complex, multiparty presidential system that was still only fifteen years away from a military dictatorship.^{[P]23}</p> <p>Lula’s most daring move was to hand over the publicity and marketing of his campaign to Duda Mendonca. (p.98)</p> <p>After his 1998 defeat, Lula had used the Citizenship Institute and its working groups to chart policy. In the 2002 election, his most attractive social promise was to launch Fome Zero—Zero Hunger—a plan to ensure that no poor family in Brazil should go hungry again. Coming from someone who himself had been hungry as a child, this was a pledge that carried conviction.</p> <p>Lula took other steps to widen his coalition of support. He recruited as his vice presidential running mate a self-made millionaire businessman, Jose Alencar. Alencar had left a poor home and large family at the age of fourteen, sleeping in corridors and building a textile business in Minas Gerais through hard work. He was not a prominent politician and was linked with one of the small right-wing parties, the Partido Liberal; he was a Protestant evangelical, and his party was also supported by that religious movement.²⁶ Lula was therefore sending two signals to the electorate, as someone whose own politics were associated with the poor and with the Catholic Church. He was also undermining a rival, Anthony Garotinho, the governor of Rio de Janeiro, who also had evangelical backing. (p.99)</p> <p>The results of the first round, on 1 October, gave Lula 46 percent of the vote and Serra only 32 percent, with a further 29 percent distributed between two other candidates, Ciro Gomes and Anthony Garotinho. But experienced Brazilian politicians saw that it was virtually all over, and people of many persuasions—including Paulo Maluf and Delfim Netto, an economic minister for the military—rallied to what cynics described as Lula’s “Noah’s Ark.” Many in the electorate hoped that Lula would introduce profound change and would end the suffering caused by neoliberalism. (p.100)</p> <p>In the second round, at the end of October, Lula won at last. He got 52,788,428 votes to Serra’s 33,366,430—or 61.3 percent to 38.7 percent. It was definitive. His supporters’ excitement was enormous. There was still trepidation among the rich. Lula still faced prejudice and snobbery.^{[P]30}</p>
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			<p>The second round had taken place on 27 October, his fifty-seventh birthday. The first round, on 6 October, had coincided with the date his father had wrongly registered as his birth date.</p> <p>Bourne, Richard. 2008. <i>Lula of Brazil: the story so far</i>. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Bush congratulates Brazil presidential winner Monday, October 28, 2002 Posted: 5:29 PM EST (2229 GMT)</p> <p>WASHINGTON (CNN) -- President Bush on Monday called to congratulate leftist Luiz Inacio da Silva on his election as president of Brazil.</p> <p>"The president told President-elect da Silva he looked forward to working with him, especially with regard to advancing democracy, good governance, and free trade in the hemisphere," according to a written statement from the White House.</p> <p>Silva, better known as simply "Lula," defeated ruling-party candidate Jose Serra, who conceded defeat late Sunday. Serra had been backed by the government's center-right coalition. http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/americas/10/28/brazil.election/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Lula wins in Brazil</p> <p>Posted on 27 de octubre de 2002 7:29:11 p.m. CST by BlackJack</p> <p>SAO PAULO, Brazil (Reuters) - Former metalworker and veteran leftist Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva won Brazil's presidential runoff vote on Sunday after his rival Jose Serra conceded defeat. An aide to Serra told reporters the former health minister had called Lula to wish him well.</p> <p>"I'm calling you (Lula) to recognize your victory and to wish you good luck in the presidency for the good of the country," the aide quoted Serra as saying.</p> <p>With 88 percent of the ballots counted, Lula had 61 percent of the vote, while Serra trailed with 39 percent, according to official figures. Final official results are not expected until late Monday.</p>
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Brazil 2006	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Alckmin conceded defeat to Lula on Sunday, after winning only 39 per cent of the vote.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 29 October 2006 <i>Winner:</i> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT, PC do B, PRB, PMDB, PL, PSB, PP, PMN) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB, PFL, PPS)</p> <p>General elections were held in Brazil on 1 October 2006. As no candidate for president received over 50% of the vote, a second round run-off was held on 29 October between incumbent Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and his challenger, Geraldo Alckmin. Lula won the second round with over 60% of the valid votes and secured a new four-year term.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>But what actually occurred, when the Electoral Commission tallied the results a day or so later, surprised many. Lula, who had seemed comfortably ahead, got only 48.6 percent of the vote. The underrated Alckmin, who had been below 40 percent in recent opinion polls, and below 30 percent three months earlier, came in with 41.6 percent. The two candidates to the left of Lula, Heloisa Helena of PSOL and Cristovam Buarque of the PDT, got only 6.8 percent and 2.6 percent, respectively—less than expected. When at the last moment many Brazilians made up their minds whom to vote for, apparently around 6 percent of voters backed away from Lula after his final rally. He said that the infamous anti-Serra dossier, and the pictures of the money to pay for it, had shot him in the foot. (p.198)</p> <p>Lula’s failure to win on the first round was unexpected and a wakeup call. It called for a radical reappraisal both for himself and for his campaign team. After 1 October he presented himself differently, more rationally, more like the candidate of “peace and love” of 2002. (p.203)The results, when they were announced on 30 October, were a vindication for the president. He had won a record number of votes—58.3 million—and had nearly 61 percent of the valid total, compared with 39 percent for Alckmin.</p> <p>Bourne, Richard. 2008. <i>Lula of Brazil: the story so far</i>. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Brazil Re-Elects President Lula da Silva</p>

			<p>Brazilian President Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva has been re-elected in a clear victory, garnering 61 percent of the vote against his social democratic rival Geraldo Alckmin.</p> <p>The Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) sends its heartfelt congratulations to President da Silva and all the Brazilian people on this clear historic achievement.</p> <p>"Candidate Lula da Silva is re-elected," announced Marco Aurelio de Mello, president of the Electoral Supreme Court. He praised the swiftness of the vote count which was carried out using electronic ballot boxes. As a result, the announcement of the outcome at 7:30 pm (21:30 GMT), was made two hours ahead of schedule.</p> <p>Lula won with a landslide of 57 million votes in the second round of the presidential election and his new mandate goes until 2010.</p> <p>Alckmin conceded defeat to Lula on Sunday, after winning only 39 per cent of the vote.</p> <p>Sunday night, in a victory speech at a Sao Paulo hotel, Lula said he would govern for all Brazilians and intensify efforts to alleviate poverty during his second four-year term. "We will give attention to the most needy. The poor will have preference in our government," Lula said. Wearing a T-shirt that proclaimed "The victory is Brazil's," Lula said "Brazil is living a magical moment." He expressed his gratitude to voters for their faith in him saying: "The people knew how to distinguish between what was true and what wasn't." He had "learned a lot" in this first term, he said and promised to make a greater effort to combat corruption.</p> <p>During his speech, Lula promised to boost growth and reduce inequality to put Brazil on track to reach the ranks of developed nations. Looking out over crowds of supporters who took to the streets waving Brazilian flags and banners of the Worker's Party, Lula said: "The foundation is in place and now we have to get to work."</p> <p>Lula narrowly failed to win outright in the first round of voting on October 1 as a result of an attempted electoral coup by the right-wing using purported corruption scandals to discredit Lula and disorient voters. During the second round of elections Lula campaigned on the slogan "Don't trade the sure thing for the dubious." The president said that his rival had plans to scrap welfare benefits for the poor and privatize Brazil's remaining state companies. According to recent polls in Brazil, 70 per cent of the population reject privatization. As a result, During the second round Alckmin could not muster the political courage to champion his neo-liberal program of privatization and merely kept harping about corruption.</p>
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			<p>"People voted for Lula for a number of reasons," said Alexandre Barros, an analyst with the Early Warning Company in Brasilia. "First, because they are satisfied with the way things are going. Second, because there was no evidence whatsoever linking Lula to any scandal. And third, because he showed himself to be a more coherent candidate than Alckmin."</p> <p>"This is an extraordinary result, one that gives him a legitimacy that all the accusations had perhaps broken," said Jairo Nicolau, a television commentator and political science professor at the Candido Mendes University, quoted by the New York Times. "It's one thing to win a narrow victory and something else altogether to register this level of support after all that has happened," he said. "Alckmin was pushed to the right and placed on the defensive, and was never able to get out of that posture," Nicolau said. "He could neither defend himself nor offer his own program."</p> <p>"Lula's turnaround is based mostly on the economy," said Alberto Carlos Almeida, a political scientist. "That, combined with the social programs, gives the electorate the impression that he is really taking care of the poor. There is the appearance of stability, and so people want continuity."</p> <p>"Lula cares about the poor, and that's what matters to me, more than all this talk about corruption, which we've always had," Jane Cunha, a 56-year-old maid, said at a polling place Sunday morning. "I earn the minimum wage, and thanks to him, my salary has gone up \$20 a month and the price of food has gone down enough that I'm eating a lot more meat than in the past."</p> <p>"Because of all the corruption denunciations, I voted for Alckmin in the first round, based on emotion," said Valmir Moura, a 38-year-old office clerk here. "But this time I stopped to reason things through, and I realized his whole campaign is based on nothing but accusations and that he hasn't presented a program for governing. So I went back to Lula."</p> <p>A Vermelho editorial on October 29 points out that the election was a decisive rejection of neo-liberalism. "The Brazilian people showed what they are made of, they expressed their conscience and the people were the big winners on this historic October 29, 2006.</p> <p>"It was a major victory. Lula won about 20 million more votes than his rival and more than 60 per cent of the valid vote. This indicates that the majority of the nation, with the people at the base, approved his first government and expressed confidence in Lula's pledge to carry forward a second mandate which is more bold and concrete, especially in terms of an equitable distribution of the wealth.</p>
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			<p>"By re-electing Lula with such a large majority, the people clearly declared 'Enough!' to the right-wing coup attempts and also said 'Enough!' to the hegemonic media that used and abused lies and manipulation. It is a lesson for the arrogant editors and columnists who declared they represented the conscience of the people.</p> <p>"Furthermore, this victory has another side which makes it even greater. The sharp battle of ideas which took place during the second round, took two conceptions of Brazil to the ballot box, two antagonistic, programmatic visions and it is a fact that the neo-liberal credo was judged and rejected. The confrontation on the issue of privatization showed the extent to which the neo-liberal ideas are discredited.</p> <p>"Another salient feature of the programmatic confrontation concerned foreign policy. The candidacy of Alckmin represented the conception of a dependent and submissive Brazil, subservient to the U.S. Lula's campaign re-affirmed its engagement to strengthen the sovereignty of the country with a process which contributes to building solidarity and to the social and economic development of the countries of Latin America. In this regard, the significance of the re-election of Lula goes beyond our borders. For this reason, this victory is hailed by the peoples of the region and their progressive governments."</p> <p>The Marxist-Leninist Daily. Internet edition. November 2, 2006 - No. 167 http://www.cpcml.ca/Tmld2006/D36167.htm</p>
<p>Brazil 2010</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Social democrat Jose Serra conceded defeat in Sunday's presidential runoff in Brazil, and he promised hard work as leader of the opposition to president-elect Dilma Rousseff and her ruling Workers' Party. He accepted the choice of the people 'with respect and humility,' he said.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> October 31 (second round) <i>Winner:</i> Dilma Rousseff, (PT, PMDB, PCdoB, PDT, PRB, PR, PSB, PSC, PTC, PTN) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> José Serra, (PSDB, DEM, PTB, PPS, PMN, PTdoB)</p> <p>Serra concedes defeat in Brazil: "True fight" starts now" 01/11/2010 Social democrat Jose Serra conceded defeat in Sunday's presidential runoff in Brazil, and he promised hard work as leader of the opposition to president-elect Dilma Rousseff and her ruling Workers' Party.</p> <p>'We are only just beginning a true fight,' he said.</p> <p>'We will make our contribution to the country in defence of the homeland, of freedom, of democracy, of the right that all have to be heard when they talk, of social justice,' he stressed.</p>

			<p>The candidate of the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy (PSDB), who on Sunday got barely 44 per cent of the votes to Rousseff's 56 per cent, sent wishes that his victorious rival will well serve the country.</p> <p>He accepted the choice of the people 'with respect and humility,' he said.</p> <p>Serra had already lost a presidential runoff in 2002, against current Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva.</p> <p>http://www.alca-bloco.com.br/noticias_alca/show_news.php?subaction=showfull&id=1288613910&archive=&tempate=mercosul</p> <p>No surprises this time Oct 31st 2010, 22:25 by H.J. SÃO PAULO</p> <p>WITH 93% of the votes for president counted, Dilma Rousseff, the candidate of the ruling Workers' Party and the chosen successor of the current president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, has defeated José Serra of the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy by 55.5% to 45.5%. Ms Rousseff had never before run for elected office. Her entire political life had been behind the scenes. Little was known of either her politics or her personality. Mr Serra was vastly more experienced and better known. But Lula campaigned beside Ms Rousseff, toured the country with her and was at least as visible in her television advertising as she was. Asked to choose between continuity and experience, Brazilians chose continuity.</p> <p>So on January 1st Ms Rousseff will become Brazil's next president, and its first female one. In the end, it was the poor and those in the less-developed northern regions who swung it her way. Richer and better-educated folk preferred Mr Serra, but Brazil has fewer of them.</p> <p>http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2010/10/brazils_presidential_election_4</p>
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Burundi 1993-2010

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>Burundi 1993</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Buyoya, the incumbent dictator who reached power through a military coup in 1987, accepted his defeat to Ndadaye.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 1 June 1993 <i>Winner:</i> Melchior Ndadaye, Front for Democracy in Burundi <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Pierre Buyoya, Union for National Progress</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Presidential elections were held in Burundi on 1 June 1993 following the approval of a new constitution in a referendum the previous year. They were the first multi-party elections for president, the only previous election in 1984 having been held at a time when the country was a one-party state. This election was a watershed for Burundi, representing the end of a military backed Tutsi state, and the birth of democracy. Melchior Ndadaye's election victory put FRODEBU in prime position for a comfortable win in legislative elections held on 29 June 1993. Ndadaye was sworn in as the first Hutu president of Burundi on 10 July 1993. His rule would be short, however, as he was assassinated on 21 October 1993 during a military coup by elements of the predominantly Tutsi army. Thereafter, the country plunged into a full-scale civil war that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The democratic return of Kérékou and Toumani could mislead uninformed observers, especially by amalgamating democratic returns and military ones. Six months after the April 1996 return of Kérékou to power, Major Pierre Buyoya, who had reluctantly conceded defeat in 1993 in Burundi, staged his second coup this time against democratically designated president Sylvestre Ntibantunganya. http://www.olny.nl/Africa/O_Nyirubugara_Africa_leadership_shaping_and_shapers.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Until recently, the Tutsi-dominated Union for National Progress (UPRONA) was the only political party that had ever held power. President Pierre Buyoya, who took power in a coup in 1987, moved gradually to bring more Hutus into his government, as well as into the army. In 1992 he introduced</p>

			<p>a multi-party constitution, opening up political competition. This paved the way for the exiled Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU), the major party supported by Hutus, to operate legally. Although Buyoya won respect for his political opening, he lost to the FRODEBU presidential candidate, Melchior Ndadaye, in elections held peacefully in June 1993. In the legislative elections, FRODEBU won 65 seats to UPRONA's 16.</p> <p>President Buyoya accepted his defeat with good grace, and handed over the reins of government to his successor. But tension between the Tutsi-dominated army and political establishment and the incoming administration was high. Tutsi extremists opposed any concessions to the newcomers, while Hutu extremists pushed for a rapid purge of Tutsi from positions of power. http://www.africafocus.org/docs95/burundi.495.php</p>
Burundi 2005	NA	Election by the Congress	<p><i>Election date:</i> 1 June 1993 <i>Winner:</i> Melchior Ndadaye, Front for Democracy in Burundi <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Pierre Buyoya, Union for National Progress</p> <p>The Republic of Burundi held an indirect presidential election on 19 August 2005. Members of the National Assembly and Senate chose the new president of the republic, who will serve term of five years. The sole candidate, Pierre Nkurunziza of the CNDD-FDD, was overwhelmingly endorsed as president by the parliament. Nkurunziza was sworn in on 26 August 2005.</p>
Burundi 2010	NA	Election with only one candidate	<p><i>Election date:</i> 1 June 1993 <i>Winner:</i> Pierre Nkurunziza, National Council for the Defense of Democracy–Forces for the Defense of Democracy <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> No competition</p> <p>Presidential elections were held in Burundi on 28 June 2010. As a result of withdrawals and alleged fraud and intimidation, incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza was the only candidate.</p>

Chile 1989-2010

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Chile 1989	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	On August 30, 1988 Chileans voted in favor of ending the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Four months later, the presidential election was held and the center-left candidate won the presidency with 55 percent of the votes. The Runner-up candidate, Hernán Büchi, was the candidate of the government; nevertheless Pinochet’s government immediately recognized the victory of their opponent.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 14 de diciembre de 1989 <i>Winner:</i> Patricio Aylwin Azócar <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Hernán Büchi</p> <p>“(…) Chileans voted massively on December 4, 1989, to replace the military government with a democratic civilian administration. Patricio Aylwin, a veteran politician who had led the senate against Allende but who had also captained the coalition for the “No” vote against Pinochet’s regime, captured the presidency with 55 percent of the votes. He triumphed as the nominee of the continuing seventeen-party center-left alliance dominated by his own Christian Democrats and moderate Socialists (...). The three-way race produced a disappointing 29 percent for Hernán Büchi, the candidate of the government and of most rightist parties, and a surprising 15 percent for Francisco Javier Errázuriz, a maverick entrepreneur-turned-politician.”</p> <p>“Claiming to have accomplished its mission of returning Chile to a sanitized democracy, the government of Pinochet moved to cooperate with its successor. It quickly acknowledged the results of the 1989 elections, in contrast with its slowness to accept the outcome of 1988 plebiscite. Pinochet invited Aylwin for discussions at the presidential palace and instructed representatives to orchestrate a smooth transition with the winning camp ”</p> <p>Source:</p> <p>Drake, Paul W. and Jaksic, Iván (editors). 1995. <i>The struggle for Democracy in Chile</i>. United States of America: University of Nebraska Press.</p> <p>“The outcome of the December 14, 1989, election was victory for the forces of the Concertation. Patricio Aylwin obtained an absolute majority of the popular vote, 55 percent, Büchi polled 29 percent, and Errázuriz garnered 15 percent. In the Congress, Concertation candidates won 72 out of the 120 Chamber of Deputies’ seats and 22 out of 38 elective senatorial seats. The electoral victory by the regime’s opponents paved the way for the installation of a civilian government for the first time in Chile since 1973. Three months later, on March 11, 1990, in a ceremony in the partially</p>

			<p>constructed National Congress in Valparaíso, Pinochet turned over the presidential sash to Patricio Aylwin.”</p> <p>Source: Oppenheim, Louis Hecht. 1993. <i>Politics in Chile: Democracy Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development</i>. Boulder, Colorado: Westview press.</p>
Chile 1993	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The 1993 election was one of the less tight elections in Chilean history. Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle won with 58 percent of the votes and doubled his main political competitor’s vote percentage. “La victoria del candidato de concertación ha sido inmediatamente aceptada por todos sus adversarios políticos.”</p>	<p>Election date: 11 de diciembre de 1993 Winner: Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle Runner-up candidate: Arturo Alessandri Besa</p> <p>“La elección presidencial de diciembre de 1993 es recordada como una de las menos competidas en la historia democrática del país. Apenas logró asegurar la nominación de su coalición política, el entonces senador Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, del Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), se consolidó como favorito para convertirse en el segundo presidente del periodo post dictadura militar. Tanto por su popularidad personal como por el buen desempeño del gobierno de su correligionario y también concertacionista Patricio Aylwin, Frei tempranamente se afianzó como el gran predilecto de la opinión pública para imponerse en la contienda. Pero aunque los resultados de la elección presidencial nunca estuvieron en duda, tanto la nominación de Frei Ruiz-Tagle así como el controvertido proceso que rodeó la nominación del candidato de la coalición de Derecha hacen de esta elección presidencial un inmejorable ejemplo de la forma en que las dos grandes coaliciones políticas chilenas abordaron sus desafíos electorales durante la última década del siglo XX.</p> <p>(...)los resultados de la contienda presidencial de 1993 dieron un triunfo enfático al candidato concertacionista, el DC Eduardo Frei. Con un 58% de la votación, Frei se convirtió en el presidente electo con la mayoría más amplia en la historia de Chile desde que se adoptó el sufragio universal para hombres y mujeres a fines de la década de los cuarenta. El arrollador triunfo de Frei, no obstante, no fue el único fenómeno destacable de los resultados de esta contienda. La diferencia que Frei obtuvo sobre su más cercano perseguidor, el senador independiente derechista Arturo Alessandri, fue la más amplia lograda por candidato alguno en el mismo periodo. Frei obtuvo 2,4 veces más votos que Alessandri. De hecho, Alessandri fue el único candidato en la historia moderna de Chile que obtuvo un segundo lugar en una contienda presidencial con una votación tan baja.”</p>

			<p>Source: Navia, Patricio. 2005. "La elección presidencial de 1993. Una elección sin incertidumbre.". <i>Las elecciones presidenciales en la historia de Chile 1920-2000</i>. Centro de Estudios Bicentenario: 435-462. https://files.nyu.edu/pdn200/public/papers/Eleccion1993.pdf</p> <p>" A positive reading of the 1993 election hinges primarily n the outcome of the presidential race, the first to be held under democracy since 1970.1 The vote for president - whose term of office was reduced from eight years to only six just days before the election (by agreement of leaders from all parties) - was dominated by the contest between candidates of the two leading electoral coalitions: the center-left Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (CPD) and the right-wing Union por el Progreso de Chile.</p> <p>The favored candidate, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, a Christian Democrat and son of former Chilean president Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970), was the standard-bearer for the incumbent Concertación de Partidospor la Democracia (CPD or Coalition of Parties for Democracy), which had been successful in electing Patricio Aylwin to the presidency in 1989. It is made up of forces from the Center, dominated mainly by Christian Democrats (Partido Demócrata Cristiano or PDC), along with two parties from the Left: the Socialists (Partido Socialista or PS) and the Partidopor la Democracia (PPD or Party for Democracy). Frei's main opponent was Arturo Alessandri Besa, head of the right-wing coalition known as the Uniónpor el Progreso de Chile (UPC or Union for the Progress of Chile), whose core consisted of two highly conservative parties - the Renovación Nacional (RN or National Renewal) and the Unión Democrática Independiente (UDI or Independent Democratic Union) - which had been the backbone of opposition to the Aylwin government.</p> <p>Since public opinion polls had been according a steady, sizable lead to Frei over Alessandri for some months in advance of the election, little drama surrounded the presidential race itself. Nonetheless, the final, quite predictable result - Frei received 58% of the votes to Alessandri's 24.4% - was still tremendously important (...)"</p> <p>Source: Munch, Gerardo L."Democratic Stability and Its Limits: An Analysis of Chile's 1993 Elections". <i>Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Miami, Vol 36, no. 2:</i> (3-4). http://www.jstor.org/stable/166172</p> <p>-0-</p>
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			<p>El pueblo chileno apostó por el continuismo al votar por mayoría a Eduardo Frei Más de ocho millones de chilenos estaban convocados ayer para elegir al nuevo presidente de la nación y a los ciento veinte diputados, así como a la mitad de los senadores. Miles de policías y soldados fueron movilizados en unos comicios que transcurrieron sin incidentes y en los que Eduardo Frei obtuvo alrededor del 60 por 100 de los votos, según proyecciones de la TV. Con el 53,7 por 100 escrutado, madrugada española, Frei tenía el 57,3 a su favor. Frei, uno de los artífices del éxito del actual Gobierno, es la apuesta de los chilenos por el continuismo y la línea política seguida por Patricio Aylwin. En la imagen, Eduardo Frei en el momento de depositar su voto en la urna. (Crónica de J. J. Armas Marcelo en páginas de Internacional)</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1993/12/12/007.html</p> <p>50 A B C INTERNACIONAL Elecciones a la sombra del Ejército DOMINGO 12- 12- 93 Chile: De Frei a Frei, veintitrés años después Eduardo Frei Ruiz- Tagle arrasa en todo el país y tendrá un total control parlamentario Eduardo Frei Ruiz- Tagle, candidato de la Concertación, ha ganado las elecciones presidenciales en Chile, según los primeros recuentos oficiales de votos, que le otorgaban más del 55 por 100 de los emitidos a lo largo del día de ayer en las urnas de todo el país. La victoria de Eduardo Frei es la crónica de un éxito anunciado, por cuanto durante toda la campaña electoral el triunfo Según estimaciones oficiales, Frei ha ganado las elecciones como candidato de la Concertación en todo el país, y ha sacado a los restantes candidatos presidenciales un elevadísimo porcentaje que dobla e incluso casi triplica las estimaciones otorgadas al segundo candidato más votado (alrededor de un 22 a 25 por 100 de los votos) el derechista independiente Arturo Alessandri. [...] La victoria del candidato de concertación ha sido inmediatamente aceptada por todos sus adversarios políticos. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1993/12/12/050.html</p>
<p>Chile 2000</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The Chilean electoral process of 1999-2000 was the toughest electoral event since democracy was restored in Chile. In the first round, the difference between the first and second place was less than a percentage point. Finally the left candidate, Ricardo Lagos, won</p>	<p>Election date: First round: 12 de diciembre de 1999 Second round: 16 de enero de 2000 Winner: Ricardo Lagos Escobar –Concertación Runner-up candidate: Joaquín Lavín – Alianza por Chile</p>

		<p>the second round with the 51.31 percentage of the votes. Ricardo Lavín, the runner up candidate, congratulated Lagos during election day and expressed his intention of working with his competitor.</p>	<p>El socialista Lagos gana las elecciones en Chile y promete un país nuevo y unido Lunes 17 de enero del 2000. El país.</p> <p>“Lavín se puede considerar un triunfador de este proceso electoral. Así lo hizo anoche en su mensaje de aceptación de la derrota. "Creo que no podemos estar triste", dijo a sus seguidores. "Hemos tenido una votación espectacular. Hicimos una gran campaña. Creo que nuestra campaña ayudó a que esta fuera la elección más pacífica y al reencuentro entre los chilenos". El candidato derechista aseguró que estas elecciones han hecho verdad "el sueño de un país distinto, sin divisiones políticas", y se puso a disposición de Ricardo Lagos "para trabajar por la unidad de los chilenos". http://elpais.com/diario/2000/01/17/internacional/948063601_850215.html</p> <p>“The 1999-2000 presidential elections in Chile have been the most contested electoral event since democratic rule was restored in 1990.1 Two candidates, the Socialist Ricardo Lagos representing the ruling Concertacion coalition of Socialists and Christian Democrats, and Joaquin Lavin of the right-wing coalition Alianza por Chile, fought for every single vote, as both figures possessed an equal chance to win the contest. For the first time as well since 1990, two electoral rounds were needed to decide who would be the next Chilean President.2 Though Lagos and Lavin were almost equal in the first round (47.95 against 47.51 per cent), in the second and decisive round Lagos managed to obtain a slight advantage of 2.6 per cent against his right-wing rival (51.31 against 48.69 per cent).3</p> <p>(...) Lavin's style was different and unexpected even in the way he accepted his electoral defeat. In the evening of 16 January 2000 it became clear that Ricardo Lagos had won the elections. As he prepared to celebrate his victory, Joaquin Lavin paid an unexpected visit to Lagos in his campaign headquarters to personally congratulate him with his triumph. For the first time in Chilean political history, the winner of the presidential elections appeared on the balcony to address the masses accompanied by his main political adversary, who also saluted the people who came to celebrate Lagos' victory. On that opportunity (and this was Lavin's second surprise) he publicly offered Lagos his close cooperation and even offered the assistance of his team of experts to help the Concertación experts in the design of new policy instruments.”</p> <p>Source: Silva, Patricio.2001. “Towards Technocratic Mass Politics in Chile? The 1999-2000 Elections and the 'Lavin Phenomenon' <i>Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies</i>, No. 70 (April 2001): 25-39 http://www.jstor.org/stable/25675914</p>
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<p>Chile 2006</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>On December, 2005, Michelle Bachelet, the center-left candidate, reached 45.95% of the votes in the presidential election. The second presidential round was held on January, 2006, but the center-right candidate, Sebastián Piñera, could not convince all the voters who supported center-right candidates in the first round. Bachelet obtained 53.30% of the votes and Piñera recognized his defeat during the day of the election. Nevertheless, the runner-up candidate accused the government of interfering too much in the electoral process.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> <i>First round:</i> 11 de diciembre de 2005. <i>Second round:</i> 15 de enero de 2006.</p> <p><i>Winner:</i> Michelle Bachelet – Concertación <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Sebastián Piñera - Alianza</p> <p>Sebastián Piñera reconoce la derrota Santiago de Chile, domingo 15 de enero de 2006. El universal.</p> <p>El candidato derechista a la presidencia de Chile, Sebastián Piñera, reconoció su derrota y felicitó a su rival, la socialista Michelle Bachelet, a quien deseó “el mayor de los éxitos”.</p> <p>“Felicitó a Michelle por su triunfo, no sólo porque será la primera presidenta de Chile, sino también como un homenaje a esos millones de mujeres que con esfuerzo y tenacidad han logrado el lugar que les corresponde en nuestra sociedad”, dijo Piñera, en un discurso en medio de silbidos de sus partidarios cuando mencionaba a su opositora.</p> <p>Bachelet es la virtual ganadora de las elecciones presidenciales chilenas, según se desprende del recuento oficial del 67.31 por ciento de las mesas que le otorga el 53.22 por ciento frente al 46.77 de Piñera.</p> <p>http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/325463.html</p> <p>Bachelet será la primera presidenta de Chile Lunes, 16 de enero de 2006. El país. (...) La socialista Michelle Bachelet, de 54 años, se convirtió ayer en la primera mujer en la historia de Chile que accede a la presidencia del país. Con el 99,71% de los votos escrutados, la candidata de la centroizquierdista Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia obtenía el 53,49% mientras que su rival, el empresario Sebastián Piñera, de la derechista Alianza por Chile, lograba el 46,51%. Los seguidores de Bachelet invadieron las calles de las ciudades del país para celebrar el triunfo nada más conocerse los primeros resultados. Bachelet sustituirá al también socialista Ricardo Lagos el próximo 11 de marzo y se convertirá en el cuarto presidente consecutivo de la coalición que derrotó a la dictadura en 1990. (...) Minutos después de conocer los resultados, Piñera comparecía ante sus seguidores para reconocer la derrota. "Quiero felicitar a Michelle Bachelet. Es la primera presidenta de nuestro país y a través de ella quiero felicitar a las mujeres que después de años de esfuerzo y sacrificio llegan al</p>
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			<p>lugar que les corresponde", comenzó el empresario su discurso. Flanqueado por su familia y el líder de la derechista Unión Democrática Independiente (UDI) Joaquín Lavín, Piñera reiteró sus acusaciones al Gobierno de Lagos de haber interferido la campaña electoral. "Lo más doloroso fue una intervención del Gobierno del Estado que ha ido más allá de lo sano y lo prudente en una sociedad democrática". Ofreció hacer una oposición "firme y constructiva" y dijo que la Alianza no renunciaba a ser gobierno algún día. Nada más terminar su discurso, Piñera se dirigió al hotel donde Bachelet celebraba la victoria y salió a saludar con ella a los seguidores de la Concertación, un gesto habitual en Chile que prácticamente no tiene precedentes en el resto del continente. (...) http://elpais.com/diario/2006/01/16/internacional/1137366002_850215.html</p>
<p>Chile 2010</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Sebastián Piñera won the 2010 presidential election. The main political opponent of Piñera was the ex-president Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle who tried to be reelected. Anyway, Ruiz Tagle congratulated the winner during the election day and pointed out the transparency of the process. The victory of Piñera ended 20 years of centre-left rule.</p>	<p>Election date: 17 de enero de 2010 Winner: Sebastian Piñera Runner-up candidate: Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle</p> <p>Eduardo Frei admite derrota en Chile Domingo 17 de enero de 2010, Santiago de Chile. El universal.</p> <p>El candidato de la Concertación, Eduardo Frei, reconoció su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales chilenas celebradas este domingo y felicitó al aspirante opositor, el empresario Sebastian Piñera.</p> <p>“Quiero felicitar a Sebastián Piñera; la mayoría de los chilenos le han dado su confianza para que conduzca los destinos del país por los próximos cuatro años y le deseo éxito en su gestión.”, dijo el candidato derrotado en su primera comparecencia tras conocerse el triunfo de la oposición. Frei, quién se presentaba a la relección tras haber gobernado entre 1994 y 2000, destaco que los “chilenos han dado una vez más una muestra de madurez cívica ante el mundo”.</p> <p>“Los resultados de la elección dejan en evidencia la solidez de nuestra democracia; fue una elección limpia y transparente”, enfatizó el senador democristiano.</p> <p>http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/652402.html</p> <p>Chile turns right with billionaire president Monday 18, January 2010. The Guardian</p> <p>Chile ushered in a new era today after billionaire businessman Sebastián Piñera became its first rightwing leader since the dictator Augusto Pinochet left office in 1990.</p>

			<p>Piñera was elected president on Sunday, beating a former leftwing president, Eduardo Frei, and thereby ending a 20-year rule by La Concertación, the centre-left coalition which ousted Pinochet. Running with a slogan of Join up for a Change, Piñera capitalised on a widespread conviction that the government was being run by a cadre of political hacks</p> <p>The outgoing president, Michelle Bachelet, a hugely popular Socialist, phoned Piñera on Sunday night to congratulate him. In a continuation of Chilean tradition, the two had breakfast to discuss the transition. "This is just the beginning. Today we have to deliver on pledges and live up to the hopes of millions of men and women," Piñera said.</p> <p>(...)Frei, who was president from 1994-2000, lost the election with a disastrous campaign in which infighting was barely under control. While the public watched the soap opera-style disputes from the Frei campaign, Piñera's campaign zeroed in on a major gripe – the lack of access to opportunity, especially in business. With speeches and TV spots focused on the entrepreneurial potential of Chile, Piñera was able to tap into a sense that his government would be more modern, more agile and less corrupt.</p> <p>http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/18/chile-pinochet</p>
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Colombia 1974-2010

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Colombia 1974	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	The conservative candidate, Gómez Hurtado, conceded defeat.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 21 de abril de 1974 <i>Winner:</i> Alfonso López Michelsen - Partido Liberal <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Álvaro Gómez Hurtado - Partido Conservador</p> <p>In the elections of 1974, the first in which the two parties were not guaranteed an equal number of seats, the Liberals overwhelmed the Conservatives—67 Liberals to 38 Conservatives in the Senate and 113 Liberals to 66 Conservatives in the Chamber of Representatives. By this time disaffection from the sclerotic electoral system of the National Front prompted many in the urban middle class to abstain from voting.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">-0-</p>

		<p>LOPEZ MICHELSEN, CANDIDATO LIBERAL, PRESIDENTE ELECTO DE COLOMBIA Superó por amplio margen a su inmediato seguidor, el conservador Alvaro Gómez GRAN PARTE DEL ELECTORADO SE ABSTUVO DE VOTAR Bogotá 22. Alfonso López Michelsen, candidato del Partido Liberal, ha resultado elegido virtualmente presidente de Colombia para el período constitucional 1974- 1978 en las elecciones celebradas ayer. Aunque corresponderá a la Corte Electoral, organismo supremo, otorgar oficialmente a López Michelsen el título de presidente electo, los resultados, tanto [...] A EL CANDIDATO CONSERVADOR RECONOCE SU DERROTA Por su parte, el candidato del partido conservador, Álvaro Gómez Hurtado ha reconocido oficialmente el triunfo del candidato liberal, Alfonso López Michelsen, y a media noche de ayer lo dio a conocer al propio triunfador y a los periodistas. Gómez Hurtado llamó por teléfono al presidente electo para reconocer su triunfo y para felicitarle por el buen éxito de su campaña. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1974/04/23/013.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El antagonismo entre conservadores y liberales durante la década de 1940 y comienzos de los cincuenta, período conocido como La Violencia, llevó al país al borde de una guerra civil que se resolvió con la intervención de los militares quienes fueron llamados por algunos líderes de los dos partidos para que derrocaran al presidente conservador Laureano Gómez y restablecieran la paz. Inicialmente se pensó que el gobierno militar, en cabeza del General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (1953-1957), sería transitorio. Pero cuando Rojas mostró intenciones de perpetuarse en el poder, los líderes de los dos partidos se unieron nuevamente para recuperar la democracia por medio de un pacto que les permitiera compartir pacíficamente el poder. En el pacto se acordó que a partir de 1958 y por un período de dieciséis años, los partidos tradicionales se alternarían la presidencia del país, y se repartirían paritariamente el poder político en los cargos públicos. Esto se explica en parte por la introducción en 1968, de una reforma constitucional que prolongó los límites a los acuerdos del FN. En ella se definió que después de 1974, el partido mayoritario que no obtuviera la Presidencia de la República en las elecciones competitivas, obtendría la mitad de los cargos de la rama ejecutiva (Artículo 41 de la Reforma Constitucional de 1968).2</p> <p>Felipe Botero*, Rodrigo Losada† y Laura Wills. 2011. “Sistema de partidos en Colombia 1974–2010: ¿la evolución hacia el multipartidismo?” Borrador de capítulo para el libro Estabilidad y cambio en los sistemas de partidos en América Latina (1978–2010) compilado por Manuel Alcántara y Flavia Freidenberg . http://americo.usal.es/iberoame/sites/default/files/botero_losada_wills_colombia.pdf</p>
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			<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Colombian Consociational Democracy The National Front¹⁸ was supposed to end all partisan conflict for a sixteenyear period through paridad (parity) in legislative and non-civil-service executive positions and alternacion (alternation) of the presidency between the two traditional parties. This complete lack of competition has led some to call this a “consociational democracy,” similar to agreements between ethnic groups in other parts of the world, but in this case between two party groups that were very much alike in all save partisan identification.¹⁹ Two explanations have been given of this coalition.</p> <p>Three “givens” of the Colombian system, as of 1974, must first be presented. They deal with the consociational remnants, the return of electoral competition, and the majority status of the Liberal party.</p> <p>First, one important characteristic of the Colombian electoral system since 4 is that it is not completely “democratic” because of the vestiges of the consociational period. More specifically, Article 120 of the Constitution (the “desmonte” of the National Front, as it is popularly called) extended bureaucratic paridad for the presidential term of 1974 to 1978 and stated that after this term the president has to offer “adequate and equitable” participation to the largest party other than his own. In short, to a certain degree the bipartisan machine oriented clientelism is continued. [...]</p> <p>In the absence of alternation, there is competition for the presidency. Although any president is required to include members of the other party in the executive branch, the operative words “adequate and equitable” are vague. Although the president’s cabinet and other posts might be divided equally between the two parties (as they have been in the Betancur years), it is more likely that the party of the president will receive more of the machine-oriented rewards. The importance of this issue was seen when President Betancur did not consult with Liberal (p. 25) leader Alfonso Lopez Michelsen before naming Liberals to his government. For the latter, Article 120 meant more than Liberals in the government; it meant Liberals chosen by the party leader—Alfonso Lopez. (p.26)</p> <p>Harvey F. Kline. 1988. “From Rural to Urban Society: The Transformation of Colombian Democracy.” In Herman, Donald L. <i>Democracy in Latin America: Colombia and Venezuela</i>. New York: Praeger Publishers.</p> <p>Para las elecciones de 1974 se presenta como precandidato de su partido, y logra la candidatura al derrotar al ex presidente Lleras Restrepo y luego del retiro de Julio César Turbay, quien lo respalda. Ganó las elecciones por amplia mayoría sobre el candidato conservador Álvaro Gómez Hurtado y la</p>
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			<p>candidata de la ANAPO María Eugenia Rojas; como dato curioso, los tres dirigentes eran hijos de ex presidentes. http://www.ecured.cu/index.php/Alfonso López Michelsen</p>
<p>Colombia 1978</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Initially, Betancur auto-proclaim himself elected president. I had originally coded NELDA DATA SET says that the conservative party called for a recount and that there were protests alleging fraud. On June 22, the NYT reported that Betancur conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election date: 4 de junio de 1978 Winner: Julio César Turbay Ayala - Partido Liberal Runner-up candidate: Belisario Betancur - Partido Conservador</p> <p>In the 1978 presidential elections, Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, a second generation Lebanese-Colombian—no relationship with 1946’s presidential candidate Gabriel Turbay—was elected President of Colombia for 1978. He was elected by 49.5 percent of the vote (147,061 votes) over the second closest candidate, Conservative Belisario Betancur. His administration became known as one of the nation’s most repressive governments. (p. 105)</p> <p>Osterling, Jorge Pablo . 1989. <i>Democracy in Colombia: clientelist politics and guerrilla warfare</i>. New Brunswick, U.S.A: Transaction Publishers.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Hasta última hora de la tarde de ayer permanecía sin despejar la incógnita de las elecciones presidenciales colombianas. Turbay y Betancur, candidatos del Partido Liberal y Conservador, respectivamente, reclamaban para sí el triunfo y se proclamaban al unisono “presidente electo de la República.” Finalmente, el comunicado oficial de la Registraduría Nacional del Estado deba las cosas claras: El líder del partido oficialista el “heredero” de López Michelsen, conseguía el triunfo superando en menos de cien mil votos a su principal opositor. [...] El partido Conservador, por la misma razón, tenía en esta convocatoria su gran oportunidad. Su candidato, Belisario Betancur, logró desde el principio conectar con el electorado gracias a su habilidad como orador y a su veteranía política. [...] Tan insatisfecho debía encontrarse que hasta ultimísima hora no cejó de proclamarse triunfador, pese a saberse batido, tal y como pasara recientemente en el experimento electoral de la República Dominicana.</p> <p>Turbay, Presidente electo de Colombia. ABC, Martes 6 de junio de 1978. Pág. 23. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1978/06/06/049.html</p> <p>-0-</p>

			<p>Se creó, entonces, en los conservadores la ilusión de que ellos podrían constituir unas nuevas mayorías, gracias a la superación del comportamiento electoral tradicional mediante la utilización de técnicas políticas modernas tales como sondeos de opinión, correo directo, campaña puerta a puerta, amplio uso de la televisión y de las técnicas modernas de propaganda política como una manera de capturar el voto urbano, mayoritariamente abstencionista.</p> <p>En las elecciones presidenciales de 1978 se utilizó con mucho éxito esta estrategia, a tal punto que el candidato liberal (Julio César Turbay) solamente obtuvo una ventaja de 147.061 votos. (p. 124)</p> <p>Ulloa, Fernando Cepeda. 1987. "LAS ELECCIONES DE 1986." Mónica Lanzetta, et. al. <i>Colombia en las urnas: ¿Qué pasó en 1986?</i> Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores.</p>
<p>Colombia 1982</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The defeat of the liberals was assumed to be the consequence of a division between the liberals.</p>	<p>Election date: 30 de mayo de 1982 Winner: Belisario Betancur - Partido Conservador Runner-up candidate: Alfonso López Michelsen - Partido Liberal</p> <p>Al finalizar su mandato en 1978, reasumió las riendas de su partido y se presentó a las elecciones de 1982 por el Partido Liberal, que dividido por la candidatura disidente de Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento del Nuevo Liberalismo fue derrotado por el candidato conservador Belisario Betancur. Luego de su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales de 1982, López Michelsen emprendió una campaña para convencer al exministro Virgilio Barco de postularse a la presidencia en 1986. http://www.elpilon.com.co/inicio/lopez-el-hombre-que-ponia-a-pensar-al-pais/</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>In May 1982, President Turbay Ayala called for presidential elections. Four important candidates participated: Belisario Betancur Cuartas, heading a Movimiento Nacional (National Movement) coalition that included Conservatives, dissident Liberals, independents, and followers of the Popular National Alliance; former President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, as candidate of the mainstream Liberal Party, who sought reelection; Luis Carlos Galan, a dissident liberal, who ran on the New Liberalism ticket; and socialist Gerardo Molina. Some 6.6 million Colombians voted. Betancur was elected by 46.8 percent of the vote over the second closest candidate, the Liberal Alfonso Lopez Michelsen. His party, however, did not gain control of Congress, which remained in the hands of the Liberals. (p. 106-107)</p> <p>On 6 and 7 November, 1985, the M-19 guerrilla group openly challenged the Betancur administration by taking over the Palace of Justice and taking hostage all the Supreme Court</p>

			<p>Justices who were holding a hearing related to the constitutionality of the narcotraffic-related Extradition Agreement with the United States. In the Palace were forty-four Justices from both the Supreme Court and the State Council, among them President Betancur's brother, Jaime Betancur Cuartas, who was a member of the State Council. Twenty-four hours later, after a fierce military operation, and the burning of the whole facility, the Colombian Army freed the building after killing some thirty-five members of the M-19 guerrilla group. Total casualties included some ninety-six persons, eleven Supreme Court Justices included. Some two hundred forty-four civilians were freed, fifty-three of them injured.²¹ This incident and its consequences will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.</p> <p>Osterling, Jorge Pablo . 1989. <i>Democracy in Colombia: clientelist politics and guerrilla warfare</i>. New Brunswick, U.S.A: Transaction Publishers.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Lamentablemente la tolerancia inicial del gobierno de Alfonso López Michelsen y que continuo con Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala (1978-82) y en general de la sociedad colombiana a capos del narcotráfico, quienes se apodaba "los mágicos" fue premiada y estimulada por su generosa irrigación de beneficios a quienes negociaban con ellos desde la legalidad, como los propietarios de mansiones y fincas que las vendieron a alto precio, corredores de bolsa que amasaron fortunas con el lavado de dólares en la economía, empresarios que recibieron inversiones con bajos costos de capital para esconder ganancias ilegales. El presidente López abrió la puerta de entrada de los capitales del narcotráfico al crear, en medio de un rígido control a la entrada de divisas establecido por el Estatuto Cambiario de 1968, la que se conoció como la "ventanilla siniestra" del Banco de la República, para comprar dólares sin preguntar por el origen de los fondos. Al ser interrogado por el ingreso de lo que se llamó "los dineros calientes" a su campaña de reelección de 1982, López respondió con cinismo que el no usaba termómetro para tomarle la temperatura al dinero de los aportes electorales. Esta mentalidad deshonesto facilitó el ascenso de las clases emergentes y su asociación con amplios sectores de las clases pudientes.²</p> <p>Al finalizar su mandato en 1978 reasume las riendas de su partido y se presenta a las elecciones de 1982 por el Partido Liberal que dividido con la candidatura disidente de Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento del Nuevo Liberalismo fue derrotado por el candidato conservador Belisario Betancur, quien lideró un movimiento que convocó sectores políticos que iban más allá de su partido.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>En la Costa Caribe las elecciones a las corporaciones públicas -Congreso, asambleas y concejos- son por lo general bastante predecibles. En este tipo de comicios rara vez se presentan sorpresas. No</p>
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			<p>sucede así en las elecciones a cargos uninominales -Presidencia, gobernaciones y alcaldías- en las que desde hace ya rato, y si se dan ciertas condiciones, todo puede suceder.</p> <p>El caso más emblemático ocurrió hace 25 años, en 1982, cuando el ex presidente Alfonso López Michelsen fue derrotado en la propia Barranquilla -donde según se decía hasta las piedras eran liberales- por el entonces candidato conservador Belisario Betancur. Un resultado totalmente inesperado, si se tiene en cuenta que tres meses atrás la votación alcanzada por los congresistas liberales, amigos de su candidatura, había sido muy superior a la de aquellos que respaldaban la de su contendor.</p> <p>Fue en esa época cuando López acuñó la pregunta: ¿Qué pasó en la Costa?, que desde entonces se trae a cuento cada vez que se produce algún palo electoral. Como cuando el cura Bernardo Hoyos ganó por primera vez la Alcaldía de Barranquilla, o Gustavo Bell se alzó contra todo pronóstico con la Gobernación del Atlántico. O como acaba de ocurrir ahora, con la derrota de José Name Terán en el Atlántico y la victoria de Judith Pinedo en Cartagena.</p> <p>https://www.elspectador.com/impreso/cuadernillo/politica/articuloimpreso-paso-cost</p>
Colombia 1986	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Gomez Hurtado conceded defeat the same day of the election after knowing the results announced by the Registraduría.</p>	<p>Election date: 25 de mayo de 1986 Winner: Virgilio Barco Vargas - Partido Liberal Runner-up candidate: Álvaro Gómez Hurtado - Partido Conservador</p> <p>On 25 May 1986, presidential elections were held for the 1986 to 1990 term. These were the first elections in which an amnestied guerrilla group (the FARC-EP) participated as a legalized political movement (the Union Patriótica). The three most important candidates were Virgilio Barco Vargas, for the Liberal Party; Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, for the Conservative Party; and Jaime Pardo Leal, for the Patriotic Union, the legalized arm of the FARC guerrillas. Some 7.2 million people voted, with the victor, Virgilio Barco, receiving 58 percent of the national vote. President Barco was inaugurated on / August 1986. (p. 109)</p> <p>Osterling, Jorge Pablo . 1989. <i>Democracy in Colombia: clientelist politics and guerrilla warfare</i>. New Brunswick, U.S.A: Transaction Publishers.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>6. Declaración de Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, al reconocer su derrota ante Virgilio Barco Vargas (Bogotá, 25 de mayo de 1986). Compatriotas: los datos de la Registraduría indican que el próximo presidente será Virgilio Barco. He sido el símbolo de un movimiento, el de Participación Nacional, del cual estoy orgulloso. No ha</p>

			<p>sido en vano nuestro esfuerzo; hicimos una campaña centrada en los problemas del país; nuestras propuestas han conmovido a gran cantidad de colombianos; son soluciones sin color político y por ello seguirán vigentes hacia el futuro. Yo quise formar unas nuevas mayorías para presentarle al país nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo. Este empeño democrático no me fue dado. Estoy aquí ante ustedes porque siempre he sido un luchador y seguiré siéndolo, porque la política es la vocación de mi vida; estaré presente opinando sobre los problemas de mi querida Colombia, que me ha dado los más grandes honores que se pueden conferir a un ciudadano. A todos aquellos que me apoyaron con fe y entusiasmo, en esta noble lucha democrática, quiero expresarles la gratitud de mi corazón y el sentimiento de mi total amistad y solidaridad. (p. 214)</p> <p>Anexo 2. Discursos y declaraciones. Mónica Lanzetta, et. al. <i>Colombia en las urnas: ¿Qué pasó en 1986?</i> Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores.</p>
Colombia 1990	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The split in the PC helped ensure the victory of the PL's candidate, César Gaviria, who had a clear victory over his next rival, by doubling the amount of votes.</p>	<p>Election date: 27 de mayo de 1990 Winner: César Gaviria Trujillo - Partido Liberal Colombiano Runner-up candidate: Álvaro Gómez Hurtado - Movimiento de Salvación Nacional</p> <p>Los electores le otorgaron un contundente triunfo a César Gaviria Trujillo y marcaron la tercera derrota para Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, quien resultó prácticamente duplicado; el tercer lugar le correspondió a Antonio Navarro, lo que significó una satisfacción para su recién fundado movimiento, mientras que el cuarto lugar de Rodrigo Lloreda prácticamente lo sacrificó como candidato a futuro.</p> <p>-0- Elección de presidente</p> <p>- La violencia siguió cobrando vidas de líderes de izquierda y guerrilleros en proceso de desmovilizarse e ingresar a la vida civil. Los asesinatos de Bernardo Jaramillo, 22 de marzo de 1990, y Carlos Pizarro Leongómez, 26 de abril 1990, siguieron enrareciendo el clima para las elecciones de presidente el 27 de mayo.</p> <p>- La elección de César Gaviria fue deplorable muestra de abstención y desinterés por los certámenes democráticos, y comienzo del agudo deterioro de los partidos tradicionales.</p>

			<p>- La información de la Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil sobre el potencial neto de sufragantes para cada elección es defectuosa, errática y poco confiable. En 1978 este potencial fue fijado en 11'251.178 electores; en 1982 en 13734.093; en 1986 en 15'611.274; en 1990, cuando se excluyó a quienes no hubieran votado recientemente y no se hubieran inscrito, en 13'903.324. Con esta última cifra la participación electoral en mayo 27 fue del 43.46% y la votación por Gaviria del 20.08%, habiendo colocado 1' 322.702 votos menos que Virgilio Barco, y sin alcanzar siquiera la votación de Alfonso López Michelsen en 1974.</p> <p>http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/revistas/credencial/febrero94/febrero2.htm</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Una gran desazón cundía en la sociedad civil, cuando en agosto de 1989 el asesinato de Luis Carlos Galán, implacable enemigo del narcotráfico y quien se perfilaba como probable ganador presidencial en 1990, colmó la copa. Se sentía en el ambiente la ira, el desconcierto y el miedo. Sin embargo, en marzo de 1990, en la consulta interna abierta del PL para escoger su candidato presidencial entre cuatro candidatos, se impuso ampliamente César Gaviria Trujillo, exministro de Hacienda y economista. Habiéndose desempeñado como jefe de campaña de Galán hasta su muerte, Gaviria enarboló la bandera de continuar con las políticas defendidas por su jefe, y en las elecciones de mayo de 1990 obtuvo el doble de votos sobre su más cercano rival, el veterano Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, quien se separó del PC y esta vez compitió como candidato del recién creado Movimiento de Salvación Nacional.</p> <p>Felipe Botero*, Rodrigo Losada† y Laura Wills. 2011. "Sistema de partidos en Colombia 1974–2010: ¿la evolución hacia el multipartidismo?" Borrador de capítulo para el libro Estabilidad y cambio en los sistemas de partidos en América Latina (1978–2010) compilado por Manuel Alcántara y Flavia Freidenberg .</p> <p>http://americo.usal.es/iberoame/sites/default/files/botero_losada_wills_colombia.pdf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>PRIMERA PÁGINA 1990</p> <p>César Gaviria Trujillo, elegido Presidente de Colombia Tiempos de revolcón? Tres aspirantes a la Presidencia de la República fueron asesinados en medio de uno de los periodos más desestabilizantes de la historia del país. Al final, triunfó el heredero del inolado Luis Carlos Galán.</p>
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			<p>Después de una sangrienta campaña electoral que le costó la vida al precandidato liberal Luis Carlos Galán (18 de agosto de 1989) y a los candidatos de la izquierda Bernardo Jaramillo (22 de marzo), de la Unión Patriótica, y Carlos Pizarro (26 de abril), de la Alianza Democrática M-19, se celebraron el 27 de mayo las elecciones presidenciales que le dieron el triunfo al candidato liberal César Gaviria Trujillo.</p> <p>Gaviria compitió con Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, del Movimiento de Salvación Nacional (MSN); Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, del Social Conservatismo y Antonio Navarro Wolf de la AD M-19. Gaviria obtuvo 2 806.373 votos; Gómez, 1 403.943; Navarro Wolf, 739.979 y Lloreda, 721.268.</p> <p>Gómez, uno de los jefes naturales del Partido Conservador, se alejó de su colectividad y conformó su propia agrupación sustentada en el Acuerdo sobre lo fundamental . La llamó Movimiento de Salvación Nacional, el cual contó con la participación de algunos liberales. En las elecciones derrotó al social conservatismo pastranista. http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-951567</p> <p>Millett 1990: "While Liberals united behind Gaviria, the Social Conservative Party experienced a major split. Aware that their choice for presidential candidate, Alvaro Gómez Hurtado (party's unsuccessful 1986 presidential candidate), would not be selected, his followers refused to attend the party convention. Ultimately, former Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo was chosen as its nominee. Subsequently, Gómez Hurtado formed his own party, the National Salvation Movement. The net result has been to decrease the electoral strength of the Conservatives" (page 7).</p> <p>Dugas 2000: "(T)he split in the PC helped ensure the victory of the PL's candidate, César Gaviria, who won the May 1990 presidential elections with 47.8 percent of the vote. Of the two Conservative candidates, Gómez won 23.7 percent of the vote, while Lloreda won 12.1 percent. The PC was particularly humiliated by the fact that the official ticket, led by Lloreda, received fewer votes than did Antonio Navarro" (page 101). http://libraries.ucsd.edu/locations/sshl/resources/featured-collections/latin-american-elections-statistics/colombia/elections-and-events-19901994.html</p> <p>El liberal César Gaviria, vencedor de las presidenciales colombianas En medio de un clima de tensión y bajo estrictas, medidas de seguridad, los colombianos acudieron ayer a las urnas para elegir al nuevo presidente de la nación. Votar es respaldar la democracia, derrotar a los violentos y desarmar a los terroristas señaló el presidente colombiano, Virgilio Barco. Según los primeros escrutinios, el candidato del Partido Liberal, César Gaviria- -en la imagen- ha</p>
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			<p>obtenido una aplastante victoria al conseguir aproximadamente un 50 por 100 de los votos emitidos. (Sección Internacional). http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1990/05/28/005.html</p> <p>Tras la confirmación de su triunfo en Colombia, César Gaviria promete derrotar al narcoterrorismo El nuevo presidente electo de Colombia, César Gaviria Trujillo, prometió ayer, tras la confirmación de su triunfo en las elecciones celebradas el domingo, derrotar al narcoterrorismo, para lo que pidió un mayor compromiso de las naciones industrializadas. En páginas de Internacional publicamos una entrevista con el triunfador de las elecciones. En la imagen, César Gaviria, con su mujer y sus hijos, celebra la victoria. (Sección Internacional) http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1990/05/29/006.html</p>
Colombia 1994	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Pastrana said that he did not recognize the legitimacy of Samper's victory. He presented some videotapes in which the leader of the Cartel de Cali made reference to his contributions to Samper's campaign to win the Presidency. However, Pastrana did not take any legal action neither engaged in acts of protest, and left the country after the election.</p>	<p>Election date: 19 de junio de 1994 (Segunda vuelta) Winner: Ernesto Samper Pizano, Partido Liberal Colombiano Runner-up candidate: Andrés Pastrana Arango, Nueva Fuerza Democrática (incluye Partido Conservador Colombiano)</p> <p>El domingo 29 de mayo de 1994, Ernesto Samper le ganó a Andrés Pastrana la primera vuelta de las elecciones presiden- ciales con una pírrica diferencia de 18.439 votos (2'623.210 por Samper y 2'604.771 por Pastrana). La segunda vuelta era inevitable y la adhesión de Noemí Sanín al candidato conservador estaba anunciada: Pastrana ganaría en segunda vuelta y así lo titulaban las encuestas a comienzos de junio.8 Según lo registró la prensa de la época, la campaña liberal cayó en un estado de angustia y serio temor de perder las elecciones. Para triunfar en la segunda vuelta era necesario que el samperismo "sumara esfuerzos": los esfuerzos se fueron sumando.</p> <p>El 16 de junio de 1994, sólo cuatro días antes de la segun- da vuelta de las elecciones, el candidato Andrés Pastrana pidió audiencia con el Presidente de la República, César Gaviria Trujillo. En Palacio, Pastrana entregó al presidente varios casetes con grabaciones sostenidas entre Alberto Giraldo y Miguel Ro- dríguez Orejuela, en donde el capo del Cartel de Cali conversaba con su amigo sobre el dinero que se le debía dar a Ernesto Samper para que ganara las elecciones: las grabaciones daban cuenta de aportes mafiosos a la campaña de Samper superiores a 3.000 millones de pesos de aquel entonces. Al día siguiente, el presidente envió las grabaciones a la Fiscalía General de la Nación. El candidato Pastrana se abstuvo de revelar las grabacio- nes a los medios de comunicación antes del día de elecciones.</p> <p>El domingo 21 ganó las elecciones Ernesto Samper con 3'733.366 votos, 150 mil más que su adversario, Andrés Pastrana. Al día siguiente, el noticiero de televisión nacional 24 Horas9</p>

			<p>sorprendió al país con la revelación de los “narco-casetes”. Para el día martes, la prensa nacional no hablaba de otra cosa. Sin embargo, el efecto no fue tan adverso al presidente electo como se esperaba. Por el contrario, siendo que el origen de la denuncia había sido el candidato derrotado, los narco-casetes fueron percibidos como una campaña de desprestigio orquestada por el “mal perdedor” Andrés Pastrana. Samper alegó que se trataba de un montaje.</p> <p>El gobierno estadounidense, mediante funcionarios del Departamento de Estado, aseguró al presidente electo y a algunos miembros de su gabinete que, en efecto, la mafia había desempeñado un papel fundamental en la financiación de su campaña.¹⁰ La posición americana se endureció y al poco tiempo el gobierno de ese país amenazó con “vetar” a Colombia.¹¹ En vez de rechazo al presidente electo, en Colombia se generó cierto sentimiento de nacionalismo e indignación por las amenazas de los Estados Unidos. Nuevamente, las narco grabaciones fueron percibidas como un montaje hecho por el mal perdedor Andrés Pastrana y exageradas por el entrometido gobierno norteamericano.</p> <p>El presidente electo Samper se posesionó el 7 de agosto de 1994. Nombró un gabinete mayoritariamente liberal, aunque no exento de representación conservadora alvarista, compuesta por Daniel Mazuera Gómez,¹² María Sol Navia y Rodrigo Marín Bernal.¹³ ¿Quién podría haber dicho que no había representación alvarista? Se trataba de una movida política hábil del Presidente Samper para dividir al conservatismo en sus linderos históricos frente al gobierno. Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, a través de El Nuevo Siglo manifestó ese 7 de agosto que “siempre que se produce un cambio en la jefatura del Estado, surgen expectativas y esperanzas. No habría porqué negárselas al nuevo mandatario”.¹⁴</p> <p>La Nación, entusiasmada con el advenimiento de un nuevo gobierno, parecía querer ignorar el escándalo de las “narco-grabaciones” y creer en la buena fe del presidente.</p> <p>¿Por qué lo mataron? - Semana.com CAPÍTULO I ANTECEDENTES DE UN MAGNICIDIO http://www.semana.com/documents/Doc-2241_201197.pdf</p> <p>Según declaraciones de prensa, la noche del tercer domingo de junio de 1994, el Candidato derrotado Andrés Pastrana Arango, señaló que no le reconocía legitimidad al triunfo del vencedor Ernesto Samper Pizano, porque su campaña fue financiada con dineros del narcotráfico. En esa misma semana dio declaraciones de prensa, antes de abordar un vuelo al exterior, en el que indicaba que había entregado antes de las elecciones al entonces presidente Cesar Gaviria Trujillo, unas grabaciones, que daban cuenta de la filtración de dineros del narcotráfico en la campaña del</p>
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			<p>Presidente electo Samper Pizano, para que en su condición de primer Magistrado le diera el trámite que corresponde. Denunció que el Presidente Gaviria, hizo caso omiso de las pruebas que le entregó en el Palacio de Nariño para lo cual le pidió audiencia, y le manifestó que las había recibido en el lobby del Hotel Intercontinental de Cali, durante la campaña.</p> <p>El Presidente Ernesto Samper Pizano, tomó posesión del cargo el siete de agosto de 1994, recibiendo el apoyo de un sector conservador, dirigido por el Senador de entonces y hoy embajador en Italia, Fabio Valencia Cossio, director del grupo político Coraje, del Departamento de Antioquia, a quien le dio participación en el Gobierno. El partido conservador como tal se rehusó a participar en el Gobierno.</p> <p>Leer más: http://www.monografias.com/trabajos96/derecho-y-argumentacion/derecho-y-argumentacion.shtml#ixzz2eRBW8K6C</p> <p>Los llamados narcocasetes fueron los videos con los que el candidato perdedor en las elecciones de 1994, el conservador Andrés Pastrana, denunció el ingreso de dinero del narcotráfico a la campaña de Samper.</p> <p>http://www.wradio.com.co/noticias/actualidad/ex-presidente-samper-reconoce-que-narcotrafico-contamino-su-campana/20070415/nota/414721.aspx</p> <p>Una semana después de realizada la segunda vuelta electoral de 1994 para el periodo comprendido de 1994 a 1998, que definía al futuro Presidente de Colombia entre los candidatos Ernesto Samper Pizano y Andrés Pastrana Arango, el entonces presidente César Gaviria Trujillo recibió de Andrés Pastrana Arango unos casetes cuando realizaba una gira por la ciudad de Santiago de Cali. El presidente Cesar Gaviria remitió los casetes al entonces Fiscal General de la Nación Gustavo de Greiff quien se abstuvo de abrir investigación.</p> <p>El sucesor del Fiscal General, Alfonso Valdivieso, los dio a conocer a la opinión pública el 20 de junio de 1995 se divulgaron los casetes de audio en los que el periodista Alberto Giraldo hablaba con los hermanos Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela y Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela (jefes del Cartel de Cali) sobre dineros para apoyar la campaña de Ernesto Samper. Este proceso daría pie para la denuncia del Fiscal Valdivieso al entonces presidente Samper ante la comisión de Acusaciones de la Cámara de Representantes y se daría curso a la investigación de miembros de la campaña de Samper, algunos miembros de su gobierno y congresistas.</p>
Colombia 1998	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Mr. Serpa conceded defeat tonight, saying, "I congratulate Andres Pastrana for his election as Colombia's next	Election date: 21 de junio de 1998 (Segunda vuelta)

		<p>President and I call on all my fellow countrymen to support him and accompany him in the difficult task he faces."</p>	<p>Winner: Andrés Pastrana Arango - Gran Alianza por el Cambio (Partido Conservador, Nueva Fuerza Democrática, Liberales disidentes e independientes) Runner-up candidate: Horacio Serpa Uribe - Partido Liberal Colombiano</p> <p>Colombian President's Accuser Handily Wins Presidency By DIANA JEAN SCHEMO Published: June 22, 1998 Colombians voted a resounding end today to the scandal-ridden presidency of Ernesto Samper, electing as his successor the man who first accused Mr. Samper of accepting money from drug dealers. The election of the opponent, Andres Pastrana, the Conservative former Mayor of Bogota, over Horacio Serpa of the Liberal Party, President Samper's Interior Minister and most loyal advocate, opens a new chapter in Colombia's relations with the United States, which have boiled over with bitterness and suspicion in Mr. Samper's four years in power. With more than 96 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Pastrana had won 50.3 percent of the vote, to 46.25 for Mr. Serpa. "The country clearly came out to vote for change," Mr. Pastrana said. The unusually strong showing of Mr. Pastrana, who won a higher number of votes than any previously elected president, and a high turnout was in sharp contrast to opinion surveys, all of which had shown the two candidates virtually tied and had predicted a low turnout. Mr. Serpa conceded defeat tonight, saying, "I congratulate Andres Pastrana for his election as Colombia's next President and I call on all my fellow countrymen to support him and accompany him in the difficult task he faces." http://www.nytimes.com/1998/06/22/world/colombian-president-s-accuser-handily-wins-presidency.html</p> <p>El hecho de haber casi ganado las elecciones de 1994 debió motivar a Pastrana a intentar una nueva candidatura presidencial en 1998, esta vez a nombre de otro movimiento creado para la ocasión, a saber, "El Cambio es Andrés", y finalmente ganó, con el apoyo de una coalición en la que sobresalía el PC. Su principal contendor, Horacio Serpa Uribe, militaba en el PL. Pastrana representaba una propuesta de corte neoliberal, en tanto que Serpa una de orientación socialdemócrata. En la primera vuelta, Pastrana no sólo superó su propia votación de 1994, sino que en la segunda vuelta logró duplicarla con la bandera de la paz. Su jugada se desarrolló así: Previamente a esta vuelta, Pastrana se entrevistó secretamente con el máximo dirigente de las FARC y dejó constancia fotográfica del encuentro. Dado que sentía haber encontrado en el grupo</p>
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			<p>guerrillero disposición para hablar sobre un eventual acuerdo de paz, hizo público suceso por la televisión una semana antes de la segunda vuelta, con la consiguiente conmoción de la opinión pública.</p> <p>Felipe Botero*, Rodrigo Losada† y Laura Wills. 2011. “Sistema de partidos en Colombia 1974–2010: ¿la evolución hacia el multipartidismo?” Borrador de capítulo para el libro Estabilidad y cambio en los sistemas de partidos en América Latina (1978–2010) compilado por Manuel Alcántara y Flavia Freidenberg .</p> <p>http://americo.usal.es/iberoame/sites/default/files/botero_losada_wills_colombia.pdf</p> <p>- 0 -</p> <p>3.16 The run up to the presidential elections saw an increase in rebel attacks. On 26 April the campaign offices of the Liberal Party presidential candidate, Horacio Serpa were bombed, killing one person. Guerrilla rebels were suspected of being behind what was thought to be the start of a wave of pre-electoral violence. [14r] On 12 May unknown gunmen killed Fernando Landazabal Reyes, a retired rightist army general who served as defence minister under President Betancur in the early 80s. [14v] This was followed by reports that Serpa's helicopter was attacked on 15 May when he was landing in Bolivar though he was unhurt. [14w]</p> <p>3.17 The four leading candidates in the presidential election were as follows: Andres Pastrana, standing as an independent, though previously a Conservative still backed by the main opposition Conservative Party; Horacio Serpa Uribe, a member of the then ruling Liberal Party and Samper's chosen successor; Noemi Sanin Posada, a former foreign minister who presented an independent alternative to Colombia's traditional two-party system dominated by the Conservative and Liberal parties; Harold Bedoya Pizarro, former head of the armed forces. [14y]</p> <p>3.18 The first round of the presidential elections took place on 31 May 1998. As neither Andres Pastrana nor Horacio Serpa won more than 50% of the votes needed for outright victory (Serpa gained 35.2% whilst Pastrana won 35%), a second round was arranged for 21 June 1998. On the election day there were reports of rebels burning ballot papers, downing power lines and blocking votes in a handful of rural townships. A guerrilla bomb in the northeast oil-refining town of Barrancabermeja exploded just before the polls opened, killing three civilians and wounding two soldiers. In another incident, a wounded soldier was shot dead in an ambulance at a rural guerrilla roadblock. Despite this the Interior Minister, Alfonso Lopez declared the day a total success. [14z]</p>
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			<p>3.19 Andres Pastrana, the Conservative Party candidate, won the presidential run-off on 21 June 1998, beating President Samper's chosen successor and ending 12 years of Liberal Party rule. Pastrana won the election with 50.4% of the ballot, 46.4% for Horacio Serpa. Pastrana promised both before and after the election to make the implementation of a peace policy his first responsibility [14aa,14ab] The election day was once again marred by violence. [14ac]</p> <p>http://www.refworld.org/docid/3c2b4e097.html</p> <p>El conservador Pastrana gana las elecciones presidenciales de Colombia MIGUEL ÁNGEL BASTENIER Bogotá 22 JUN 1998 La racha de 12 años y tres presidentes liberales se quebró ayer en Colombia con la victoria del candidato conservador y líder de la Gran Alianza para el Cambio, Andrés Pastrana, de 44 años, católico fervoroso, que ha recibido un mandato más que suficiente para hacer frente a los más pavorosos problemas que ha tenido jamás esta nación: una economía devastada con capitales en fuga, que ahora es de esperar que se tomen un respiro y miren atrás; un paro oficialmente del 12% y en aumento, y un relativo aislamiento internacional, donde, con todo, el problema de la paz es el primero que ha de asumir el nuevo presidente. De madrugada, hora española, cuando se redondeaban todavía los cómputos en una organización de una pulcritud, fiabilidad y rapidez sorprendentes y admirables en una Colombia donde tantas cosas se hacen a ojo, Pastrana, con cerca de cinco millones de votos aventajaba en más de medio millón al alicaído y de bigote arriado como una bandera Horacio Serpa. La mitad de los casi 22 millones de colombianos con derecho a sufragio han demostrado creer que valía la pena dar una nueva oportunidad al sistema, apellidado esta vez esperanzada, aunque reiteradamente, de cambio; y de ellos, algo más de una mitad, han apoyado a una derecha que si en Pastrana es eminentemente presentable, no es seguro que pueda decirse lo mismo de algunos de sus apoyos periféricos. El vencedor en las elecciones de ayer se enfrenta a un reto pavoroso: nada menos que refundar Colombia; cualquier cosa menos que eso convencerá a la opinión de que han vuelto a perderse cuatro años. http://elpais.com/diario/1998/06/22/internacional/898466401_850215.html</p>
Colombia 2002	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>While conceding defeat to Uribe Sunday night, Serpa again warned that "the future of Colombia cannot be more war" and promised to dedicate himself to promoting reconciliation. "Acepto la derrota y sin ambages declaró que el doctor Alvaro Uribe</p>	<p>Election date: 26 de mayo de 2002 Winner: Álvaro Uribe Vélez - Primero Colombia Runner-up candidate: Horacio Serpa Uribe - Partido Liberal Colombiano</p> <p>Uribe wins Colombia's elections Published: May 26, 2002 at 11:24 PM</p>

		<p>Vélez fue elegido presidente de los colombianos", dijo Horacio Serpa</p>	<p>BOGOTA, May 26 (UPI) -- Colombian voters Sunday chose a hard-line independent candidate to be their new president.</p> <p>Alvaro Uribe won a landslide victory, taking 53.0 percent of the vote. He has promised to step up military action against Colombia's rebel groups.</p> <p>His nearest rival, Liberal Party candidate Horacio Serpa recorded 31.8 percent of the vote, while none of the other nine candidates reached double figures.</p> <p>The margin of Uribe's victory surprised most observers. Opinion polls had suggested he might have to struggle to win the 50 percent plus one vote needed to avoid a second round.</p> <p>In his first speech to the nation, Colombia's president-elect thanked voters for giving him a "generous and clear mandate."</p> <p>He also thanked Colombians for turning out to vote "in the midst of difficult times."</p> <p>The turnout rate in the elections was estimated at 46.3 percent, higher than in the country's last presidential elections in 1998.</p> <p>The relatively high turnout came despite calls for an electoral boycott by the country's largest rebel group, the leftist Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC.</p> <p>A giant security operation involving more than 200,000 soldiers and police officers managed to limit the effect of sporadic FARC attacks on polling booths and regional infrastructure.</p> <p>"The international community should note that Colombia has expressed its desire to recover order and its intention to defeat terrorism," Uribe said.</p> <p>Uribe's success reflects ordinary Colombians' frustration with the failure of the country's traditional political parties to end Colombia's 38-year-old civil war.</p> <p>The independent candidate campaigned on a platform of increased military action against Colombia's rebel groups and pledged to be the country's "lead soldier."</p> <p>He has promised to double the size of the country's armed forces and to seek increased aid from the United States.</p> <p>The 49-year-old lawyer, who has studied and taught at Harvard and Oxford Universities, said his first action Monday would be to ask the international community to mediate between his government and rebel groups.</p> <p>Uribe made it clear, however, that he will only begin dialogue with the rebels once they have made a firm commitment to peace.</p> <p>During the election campaign, Serpa, Uribe's main opponent, had characterized the independent candidate as a warmonger who would plunge Colombia into further instability.</p> <p>While conceding defeat to Uribe Sunday night, Serpa again warned that "the future of Colombia cannot be more war" and promised to dedicate himself to promoting reconciliation.</p> <p>Uribe's critics also accuse him of having authoritarian tendencies and of promoting military action against the rebels in order to avenge the FARC's murder of his father in a botched kidnapping attempt in 1996.</p>
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			<p>In his speech to the nation, Uribe promised to respect human rights and the democratic process during his campaign against the guerrillas.</p> <p>http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2002/05/26/Uribe-wins-Colombias-elections/UPI-58861022469840/</p> <p>Colombia pasó la prueba: elige a Uribe Presidente Agencias en Colombia Mundo Fecha: 2002-05-27 Hora de creación: 00:00:00 Última modificación: 01:45:31 Alvaro Uribe, que promete aplicar mano dura contra los rebeldes, fue elegido el domingo presidente de Colombia por amplia mayoría, en una muestra de que millones de ciudadanos quieren poner fin a un conflicto armado de casi cuatro décadas. "Por Dios, a partir de este punto comenzaremos a convertir nuestros planes en seguridad democrática para todos", dijo Uribe en un mensaje leído a todo el país. El candidato victorioso también recordó a su padre asesinado por la guerrilla en 1983 y a los dirigentes políticos secuestrados por las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC). Uribe ganó con 52,8% de los votos cuando se habían contabilizado 11 millones 204 mil 375, votos equivalente a 98,6% del total de las mesas escrutadas. Los perdedores aceptan públicamente su derrota Los principales candidatos perdedores aceptaron públicamente los resultados de las elecciones. "Acepto la derrota y sin ambages declaró que el doctor Alvaro Uribe Vélez fue elegido presidente de los colombianos", dijo Horacio Serpa en un discurso en medio de las rechiflas de sus partidarios. El veterano dirigente liberal aseguró que no se retirará de la actividad política, pero abandonará la conducción del partido y que no se presentará nunca más a otra elección presidencial. Esta es su segunda derrota, la primera fue en 1998 frente a Andrés Pastrana. http://www.cronica.com.mx/notas/2002/15117.html</p>
<p>Colombia 2006</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Colombian opposition candidate Carlos Gaviria conceded defeat in Sunday's election after electoral officials said President Alvaro Uribe won around 62% of the votes to secure a second term.</p>	<p>Election date: 28 de mayo de 2006 Winner: Álvaro Uribe Vélez - Primero Colombia Runner-up candidate: Carlos Gaviria Díaz - Polo Democrático Alternativo</p> <p>Colombia leftist rival concedes defeat Published: 11:46AM Monday May 29, 2006 Source: Reuters Colombian opposition candidate Carlos Gaviria conceded defeat in Sunday's election after electoral officials said President Alvaro Uribe won around 62% of the votes to secure a second term.</p>

			<p>"What we have to do at this time is recognize the victory of President Uribe," Gaviria, a center-left former judge, told local radio at his campaign headquarters. The closest of Uribe's five challengers, Gaviria, trailed with 22%.</p> <p>Uribe, a key US ally in Latin America, is popular for reducing violence and tackling Colombia's left-wing rebels and paramilitary militias in a security crackdown.</p> <p>http://tvnz.co.nz/content/729316/425822.html</p> <p>Álvaro Uribe, reelegido presidente de Colombia con más del 60% de los votos</p> <p>BOGOTÁ.- El presidente de Colombia, Álvaro Uribe, cumplirá un segundo mandato hasta 2010 tras imponerse con un 62,23% de los votos en las elecciones celebradas este domingo. El movimiento de izquierda Polo Democrático Alternativo (PDA), liderado por Carlos Gaviria, se consolida como la segunda fuerza política, con el 22,03%.</p> <p>El resultado, a falta del recuento de sólo el 1% de las mesas de votación, supera el que en mayo de 2002 llevó al poder a Uribe, de 53 años. Entonces logró el 54% de las papeletas. Ahora, Uribe ha logrado el respaldo de más de 7,33 millones de los 26,73 millones de electores.</p> <p>En la celebración de su victoria, el mandatario aseguró que continuará "trabajando por la patria", tras unos comicios que fueron la "expresión de una democracia pluralista".</p> <p>Durante su intervención de 40 minutos en el hotel Tequendama, Uribe se comprometió además a dar todas las garantías al PDA y a Gaviria, que serán "también invitados a la construcción de consensos", puesto que no son "enemigos", sino "competidores".</p> <p>Por su parte, Gaviria admitió su derrota y manifestó que "cuando uno se somete a las reglas de la democracia, tiene que ser gallardo con el adversario". "Nosotros vamos a continuar con la bandera de la oposición", añadió.</p> <p>Con este resultado, el PDA se consolidó como la segunda fuerza política del país, detrás de Primero Colombia, un movimiento formado por sectores disidentes liberales, como Uribe, junto a conservadores e independientes.</p> <p>http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2006/05/27/internacional/1148762529.html</p>
<p>Colombia 2010</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Antanas Mockus conceded defeat on Sunday to president-elect Juan Manuel Santos after a landslide victory by the former defense minister.</p> <p>"I wish Santos all the success as leader for the good of our dear nation,"</p>	<p>Election date: 20 de junio de 2010 (Segunda vuelta)</p> <p>Winner: Juan Manuel Santos - Partido Social de Unidad Nacional</p> <p>Runner-up candidate: Antanas Mockus Šivickas - Partido Verde</p> <p>La elección presidencial de Colombia de 2010 para el período 2010-2014 se efectuó el domingo 30 de mayo de 2010 (con posterioridad a las elecciones de senadores y representantes) y su proceso de escrutinio terminó oficialmente el 8 de junio de 2010. Sin embargo, los resultados de dicho</p>

			<p>escrutinio mostraron que matemáticamente, ningún candidato alcanzó la mayoría absoluta de los votos por lo que se llevó a cabo una segunda vuelta el día domingo 20 de junio,4 la cual dio como vencedor al candidato Juan Manuel Santos,5 6 7 quien fue elegido presidente por el número de votantes más alto y sin precedentes en la historia de la democracia colombiana.8 9 10</p> <p>Una de las principales expectativas que hubo durante este proceso, fue la posibilidad de que el presidente Álvaro Uribe pudiese aspirar a un nuevo mandato por tercera vez consecutiva. Sin embargo, tales presunciones acabaron el día 26 de febrero de 2010, cuando la Corte Constitucional de Colombia declaró la inexecutable del llamado referendo reeleccionista por irregularidades durante el trámite, proyecto que modificaría la constitución para permitir la hipotética elección por tercera vez del jefe de estado en curso.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 0 -</p> <p>Mockus concedes defeat in Colombia presidential vote BOGOTA, June 20 Sun Jun 20, 2010 6:40pm EDT (Reuters) - Colombian independent candidate Antanas Mockus conceded defeat on Sunday to president-elect Juan Manuel Santos after a landslide victory by the former defense minister. "I wish Santos all the success as leader for the good of our dear nation," Mockus told supporters. (Reporting by Bogota Bureau) http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/06/20/colombia-election-mockus-idUSBOG00237720100620</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Así fue el día de Antanas Mockus El ex candidato por el Partido Verde, Antanas Mockus, madrugó a votar acompañado por su esposa y por sus hijos. En la noche dio un discurso en el que aceptó su derrota y felicitó a Juan Manuel Santos. 06/20/2010 http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/fotos/colombia/asi-fue-dia-antanas-mockus</p>
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NOTE on M-19: El Movimiento 19 de abril (abreviado con el numerónimo M-19 o simplemente el eme) fue un movimiento insurgente colombiano nacido a raíz de un supuesto fraude electoral en las elecciones presidenciales del 19 de abril de 1970 que dieron como ganador a Misael Pastrana Borrero, nace como rebeldía y movimiento político y luego se vuelve un movimiento armado.

Costa Rica 1974-2010

<p>Costa Rica 1974</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 1=0</p>	<p>After a smooth transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one, the first free and fair Costa Rican election was held in 1974. The opposition groups postulated seven candidates because of the conflicts they had, this benefited the ruling party whose candidate won the presidency. The runner up candidate, Fernando Trejos, recognized Oduber's victory before all of the votes had been counted.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 03/02/1974 <i>Winner:</i> Daniel Oduber <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Fernando Trejos Escalante</p> <p>Oduber Güiros ganó las elecciones presidenciales por un amplio margen de votos 03 de febrero de 1974. San José' (Costa Rica) 6. Cuando faltan de contabilizar los resultados de apenas ciento doce mesas receptoras de votos, de un total de 4.812 que funcionaron en las elecciones generales del domingo último, Daniel Oduber Quirós se consolida como presidente elegida y amplia su ventaja respecto a sus seguidores. Según el último parte de datos hecho por el Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones, Oduber --candidato del Partido Liberación Nacional— lleva 287.926 sufragios a su favor, exactamente 87319 más que su inmediato seguidor, Fernando Trejos Escalante, del Partido Unificación Nacional. El virtual presidente electo va ampliando también la distancia respecto al mínimo del 40 por ciento de los votos que exige la Constitución del país para tener a un candidato en primera ronda. Oduber Quirós recibió la felicitación y el reconocimiento de su triunfo de su inmediato seguidor en los comicios del domingo, Fernando Trejos.Escalante. El candidato victorioso recibió en el día de ayer las visitas personales de varios de sus adversarios. Por su residencia, en el barrio Belo Horizonte, de las afueras de San José, desfilaron Jorge González Marten —quien terminó en el tercer lugar de los comicios—, G. W. Villalobos, quinto puesto, a quien Oduber Quirós regaló su reloj personal, pues el suyo lo perdió en una reunión, y Jorge Monge Zamora, del 'Partido Demócrata Cristiano, que quedó en penúltimo lugar.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abcdesevilla.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/sevilla/abc.sevilla/1974/02/07/020.html</p>
<p>Costa Rica 1978</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>In 1978 Rodrigo Corazo won the presidency of Costa Rica. The runner up candidate, who would be president four years later, serenely accepted his defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 05/02/1978 <i>Winner:</i> Rodrigo Carazo Odio <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Luis Alberto Monge Álvarez</p> <p>Costa Rica: inesperada Victoria de la oposición conservadora</p>

			<p>La Vanguardia Española. 07 de febrero de 1978.</p> <p>San José, 6. — Rodrigo Corazo surge como sólido vencedor de las elecciones presidenciales en Costa Rica cuando ya se computaron los resultados de más de la mitad de las mesas. El último parte del Tribunal Supremo Electoral indica que cuando van escrutados 2.833 mesas de un total de 5.097, Rodrigo Corazo, candidato de la coalición de oposición «Unidad» obtuvo el 51.7 por ciento de los sufragios (239.295 votos), mientras que su más directo competidor, Luis Alberto Monge, del Partido Liberación Nacional obtuvo el 43.40 por ciento (203.298 votos).</p> <p>Como tercera fuerza electoral del país quedó la coalición de izquierda marxista «Pueblo Unklo», que obtuvo el 2.69 por ciento de los votos (13.599). Estos resultados confirman la corriente y los márgenes de ventaja conocidos desde un principio, cuando «sólo habían sido contabilizados los votos de un centenar de mesas.</p> <p>El próximo presidente de Costa Rica reconoció y celebró su propia victoria en la madrugada última, mientras que el principal perdedor, Luis Alberto Monge, miembro del Partido que ahora ocupa el poder, aceptó con humildad la derrota.</p> <p>La victoria de la oposición fue inesperada, especialmente después de que algunos miembros del Partido de Liberación Nacional que después resultaría derrotado, expresaron en la tarde.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/1978/02/04/pagina-25/33753206/pdf.html?search=Luis%20Alberto%20Monge</p>
Costa Rica 1982	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>On 1982, the son of a former famous president, Rafael Calderón Fournier lost the presidential race to Luis Alberto Monge. On election day, Calderón admitted losing the battle but said he had not lost the war.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 07/02/1982 <i>Winner:</i> Luis Alberto Monge Álvarez <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Rafael Calderón Fournier</p> <p>Costa Rica elects a new president February 8, 1982. The New York Times. (...) Today marked Costa Rica's eighth free election in a row since a revolution in 1948 led to the restoration of democracy and the dismantling of the country's army. Although incumbent presidents cannot seek re-election, the ruling party has been turned out of office in elections where the average voter turnout has exceeded 80 percent. Voting today was not only for President but also two vice presidential spots, 57 deputies and over 1,000 municipal officers. While Mr. Monge was able to proclaim his victory less than three hours after polling booths closed at 6 P.M. this evening, it was also still far from</p>

			<p>clear tonight whether his National Liberation Party would control the Legislative Assembly.</p> <p>Political analysts expressed surprise at the good showing of Mr. Calderón, the son of a former President and himself a former Foreign Minister in the Carazo administration, who is widely expected to run again for office in 1986. "We have lost a battle but have not lost the war," he said tonight, conceding victory to Mr. Monge. Leftist Candidate Gets 3%</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1982/02/08/world/costa-rica-elects-a-new-president.html</p>
Costa Rica 1986	<p>1 = 0</p> <p>2 = 0</p> <p>3 = 0</p>	<p>The election of 1986 was the second one that Rafael Ángel Calderón lost. After the results were released, the candidate gave a speech in which he recognized his defeat and said he would not compete for the presidency again.</p>	<p>Election date: 02/02/1986</p> <p>Winner: Óscar Arias Sánchez - PLN</p> <p>Runner-up candidate: Rafael Ángel Calderón Fournier - PUSC</p> <p>“Rafael Ángel Calderón Fournier heredo de su padre el deseo de ser presidente. A pesar del fiasco de 1948, su padre ha mantenido su popularidad. "Junior", como es comúnmente llamado Rafael Ángel, creció siendo un político. Aunque nació en Nicaragua, recibió la mayor parte de su educación y su grado de abogado en Costa Rica. A los 26 años tomó el liderazgo del partido que había llevado a su padre a la presidencia de la república. Fue Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Costa Rica entre 1978 y 1980, bajo la presidencia de Rodrigo Carazo. Rafael Ángel Calderón Jr. se lanzó a la presidencia en 1982 y 1986. Después de perder ante Oscar Arias en 1986, Calderón afirmó en su discurso de aceptación de la derrota que no se nominaría nuevamente. Cambió de parecer, y esto llevó a una intensa batalla intra-partidaria en 1989. El conflicto intra-partidario surgió cuando los líderes del PUSC, y especialmente Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, creyeron en la afirmación de Calderón, de 1986, de no lanzarse en 1989. Sin embargo, Calderón ganó la precandidatura fácilmente y se convirtió en el candidato presidencial del PUSC. Ganó la elección presidencial en 1990 y se mantiene como una fuerza política muy importante en la Costa Rica de hoy.”</p> <p>Política costarricense en transición.</p> <p>http://www.jstor.org/stable/25661342</p>
Costa Rica 1990	<p>1 = 0</p> <p>2 = 0</p> <p>3 = 0</p>	<p>The election of 1990 was the most contested election in Costa Rican History. Although, four years earlier he said he would not compete again, Rafael Ángel Calderón competed and</p>	<p>Election date: 4/ 02/1990</p> <p>Winner: Rafael Ángel Calderón Fournier</p> <p>Runner-up candidate: Carlos Manuel Castillo Morales</p>

		<p>won the presidency. Carlos Manuel Castillo Morales, the defeated candidate, recognized his loss and declared he would respect the verdict of the people.</p>	<p>Opposition’s Calderon wins Costa Rican presidency United Press International. February 5, 1990. Opposition candidate Rafael Angel Calderon, having claimed a narrow victory in a festive presidential election, faces the challenging task of replacing Nobel Peace laureate Oscar Arias. Thousands of Calderon supporters jammed downtown San Jose Sunday night, cheering and waving blue-and-red Social Christian Unity Party flags as their 40-year-old candidate declared victory. "I feel happy. I feel proud to be the president-elect of Costa Rica," Calderon told a cheering supporters in a downtown hotel. "Now let's go celebrate!"</p> <p>Despite the lack of official returns confirming Calderon's victory, his chief rival, 61-year-old Carlos Manuel Castillo of the ruling National Liberation Party, acknowledged his own loss. "Rafael Angel Calderon is the president of all Costa Ricans," the U.S.-trained economist told supporters. "That is the verdict of the people. That is the truth." Official results before vote counting was to resume Monday showed that with 43 percent of the votes tallied, Calderon had 50.9 percent to Castillo's 47.7 percent. Five other candidates took tiny percentages. Barring a reversal in the results, Calderon would take office May 9, replacing Arias, the most popular political figure in Costa Rica, a nation whose series of fair elections since a 1948 revolution is the envy of strife-torn Central America. Arias won the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize for brokering a peace accord of the five Central American nations. In Costa Rica, where a president is limited to a single four-year term, Arias could not seek re-election. Calderon's party, with links to the international Christian Democratic movement and friendly relations with the U.S. Republican Party, also appeared headed for victory in voting for the 57-member National Assembly. Several officials of Castillo's party recognized their defeat, although Castillo remained in seclusion at his home. Some Calderon supporters wept openly at his party's election headquarters. Calderon's father was president from 1940 to 1944 and is considered the founder of Costa Rica's progressive Social Security system. Calderon's campaign stressed the need to replace Arias's National Liberation Party, which has ruled Costa Rica for 16 of the last 20 years. http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T189029394</p>
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<p>Costa Rica 1994</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>José María Figueres, son of who is considered the father of the modern Costa Rica, was elected president in 1994. After a contested election, Figueres overcame his main oppositor. Miguel Ángel Rodríguez</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 06/02/1994 <i>Winner:</i> José María Figueres Olsen - PLN <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Miguel Ángel Rodríguez Echeverría - PUSC</p>

		<p>acknowledged his defeat and stated the contested election had meant a victory for his party.</p>	<p>En junio de 1993, Miguel Ángel Rodríguez fue electo por el PUSC como su candidato para las elecciones de 1994. El Dr. Rodríguez se graduó de la Universidad de Costa Rica y luego estudio en la Universidad de California en Berkeley, donde recibió una maestría y un doctorado en economía. Ha tenido muchos puestos en el gobierno y en organizaciones privadas, entre las primeras ha sido</p> <p>A pesar de su competencia para el nombramiento del PUSC en 1988, Rodríguez permaneció como un líder firme en el partido, y restableció una fuerte relación con el Presidente Calderón. De 1991 a 1992, sirvió como Presidente de la Asamblea Legislativa. En 1993 gano un 77 por ciento del apoyo del partido para la candidatura. Aunque era un candidato fuerte, el pueblo lo percibía como una persona arrogante, demasiado educado, muy patricio, y nada representativo del hombre común. Estas percepciones negativas le hicieron difícil tomar ventaja de las opiniones negativas en contra de José María Figueres. Así que, en las últimas seis semanas de la campana, los dos candidatos estaban tan parejos en cuanto a su apoyo que las organizaciones de encuestas de opinión.</p> <p>(..) La historia estaba en contra de una victoria para el PUSC. Desde que el PLN empezó, en 1951, nunca ha dejado de ganar en oposición al poder. En su historia de 45 años, el PLN nunca ha perdido dos elecciones seguidas: El partido más grande de la nación ha mostrado una habilidad de rebotar ante una derrota, como lo hizo después de la derrota de 1990. Rodríguez, en una entrevista con el periódico La Nación, descartó como la razón de la derrota errores internos del partido, afirmando que Liberación jamás había tenido tan dura competencia para ganar al partido en el gobierno.</p> <p>"¿Cuándo ha ganado Liberación solo por dos puntos?" dijo. "¿Cuándo ha estado la oposición en esta situación? Nunca. Este es un gran triunfo." (Brennan, 11 febrero 1994:10)</p> <p>La democracia costarricense: desarrollo continuo a pesar de las ambigüedades e impedimentos http://www.jstor.org/stable/25661260</p> <p>El socialdemócrata Figueres gana la presidencia de Costa Rica por la mínima. 8 de febrero de 1994. El país.</p> <p>El socialdemócrata José María Figueres, cuyo padre es considerado fundador de la Costa Rica moderna, se convirtió la noche del domingo en el futuro presidente de este país al derrotar por escasos votos al candidato oficialista Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, de tendencia democristiana, en unas elecciones desarrolladas con total normalidad. Figueres, un ingeniero de caminos formado en Estados Unidos, asumirá el poder el 8 de mayo para relevar al actual presidente, Rafael Ángel Calderón Fournier.</p> <p>Nadie se acordaba ayer de la reñida y discutida campaña que ha precedido a estos comicios costarricenses, donde además del presidente fueron renovados la Asamblea Nacional y los</p>
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			<p>81 municipios del país. Durante la misma noche electoral ya había suficientes datos para saber quién era el ganador de la contienda, por lo que el triunfo de Figueres no llegó a ser cuestionado. Entre el vencedor y su más inmediato oponente, el economista Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, sólo había una diferencia de 20.000 votos cuando se llevaba escrutado el 50% de los sufragios. Rodríguez no esperó más y reconoció públicamente su derrota. Más de 150 observadores extranjeros, entre ellos el secretario general de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), Joao Baena Soares, daban simultáneamente fe de que los comicios se desarrollaron con limpieza.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1994/02/08/internacional/760662002_850215.html</p>
<p>Costa Rica 1998</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The candidate of the governing party lost the presidential election of 1998 with a disadvantage of 8 percentage points. José Miguel Corrales quickly recognized his defeat and stated the electoral process had been a victory for the Costa Rican democracy.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 01/02/1998 <i>Winner:</i> Miguel Ángel Rodríguez Echeverría - PUSC <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> José Miguel Corrales Bolaños - PLN</p> <p>ELECCIONES EN COSTA RICA Miguel Angel Rodríguez se proclama nuevo presidente de Costa Rica. 2 de febrero de 1998. SAN JOSE.- El candidato presidencial del Partido Unidad Social Cristiana (PUSC), Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, se proclamó ganador de las elecciones celebradas ayer en Costa Rica, en las que derrotó a su adversario José Miguel Corrales, del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) en el poder. El presidente electo de Costa Rica, el socialcristiano Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, se ha comprometido con las mujeres, los jóvenes y los pobres para construir un país "justo y solidario" para el siglo XXI. Rodríguez Echeverría, abogado y economista liberal de 58 años de edad, ha reiterado este compromiso en un discurso de "aceptación de la voluntad popular" pronunciado en un hotel de las afueras de San José poco después de que datos del Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones (TSE) confirmaran su triunfo electoral por un estrecho margen. Su adversario, el socialdemócrata José Miguel Corrales, del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), había reconocido poco antes la derrota y advirtió que estará vigilante para que el ahora presidente electo cumpla con los múltiples compromisos que adquirió con los costarricenses durante la campaña electoral. http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/1998/febrero/02/internacional/costarica.html</p> <p>-0-</p>

			<p>VIRTUAL PRESIDENTE ELECTO DE COSTA RICA</p> <p>2 de febrero de 1998. La Jornada.</p> <p>El candidato del opositor Partido Unidad Social Cristiana (PUSC), el centroderechista Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, se perfilaba esta noche como el próximo presidente de Costa Rica, al vencer en los comicios celebrados este domingo al aspirante del oficialista Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), José Miguel Corrales, quien ya admitió su derrota.</p> <p>La oposición socialcristiana salía a festejar a las calles de San José y poblaciones del interior el triunfo de Rodríguez, luego de que las encuestas empezaron a concederle el triunfo aún cuando faltaba más de una hora para el cierre de las urnas, al atribuirle entre un 10 y un 8 por ciento de ventaja sobre Corrales.</p> <p>“Aquí no hay vencedores ni vencidos”, dijo Corrales al ser consultado sobre los resultados de las encuestas realizadas a la salida de las urnas, y manifestó que la única que sale vencedora es la democracia. “Es lo único que importa para el país”, comentó, mientras el virtual presidente electo se mantenía en silencio.</p> <p>Con anterioridad, un alto asesor de Corrales, Jorge Woodbridge, había reconocido la derrota del PLN (socialdemócrata), al manifestar que los sondeos de las firmas privadas Cid-Gallup y Borge y Asociados son “serios y científicos”.</p> <p>http://www.jornada.unam.mx/1998/02/02/electo.html</p>
<p>Costa Rica 2002</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>For first time in History, Costa Rican president was elected through a second round. Abel Pacheco had an overwhelming advantage of 16 percentage points over his closer competitor; the runner up candidate serenely accepted the results. The electoral process was distinguished for a high percentage of abstencionism and frequent violent events.</p>	<p>Election date: 03/02/2002 Winner: Abel Pacheco de Espriella - PUSC Runner-up candidate: Rolando Araya Monge - PLN</p> <p>El oficialista Abel Pacheco triunfa en las presidenciales de Costa Rica</p> <p>8 de abril de 2002. El país.</p> <p>Abel Pacheco, candidato del oficialista Partido Unidad Socialcristiano (PUSC), ha ganado las elecciones presidenciales en Costa Rica a Rolando Araya, del socialdemócrata Partido de Liberación Nacional (PLN), en la segunda ronda electoral, la cual ha estado marcada por la mayor abstención en la historia del país.</p> <p>Pacheco obtuvo un respaldo del 58% de los votos frente al 42% logrado por Rolando Araya, del socialdemócrata Partido de Liberación Nacional (PLN), cuando se ha escrutado ya el 93,7% de las mesas electorales. la abstención alcanzó un 38,9%, hecho sin precedentes en el país.</p> <p>En la segunda ronda electoral, Pacheco se impuso en las siete provincias en las que está dividido Costa Rica y consolidó la ventaja que había logrado en la primera ronda, celebrada el 3 de febrero pasado.</p>

			<p>Pacheco ha ganado con una de las mayores ventajas que un candidato haya logrado en los últimos 50 años, al sacarle a Araya una ventaja de 16 puntos. En su discurso de victoria Pacheco ha resaltado que luchará con vehemencia contra la corrupción, la pobreza, el tráfico sexual de niños, y que luchará por corregir la evasión de impuestos.</p> <p>"Es un honor inmenso y les agradezco, desde el fondo de mi alma, el apoyo", fueron las primeras palabras que pronunció Pacheco al saludar a los partidarios socialcristianos. Pacheco llamó, en su discurso, a la unidad nacional, como lo hizo durante la campaña electoral. "Es la hora del abrazo, aunque no la hora de la alcahuetería. Aquí no hubo vencidos ni vencedores", ha afirmado el virtual vencedor, que tomará posesión el próximo 8 de mayo.</p> <p>Serena derrota</p> <p>Araya, entre tanto, ha asegurado que aceptaba con serenidad la derrota y que había mantenido hasta el último momento la esperanza de ganar las elecciones. "Yo creo en milagros y sabía que necesitaba de un milagro para obtener un triunfo", ha indicado Araya. Araya exteriorizó su preocupación por el peligro de que se "entregue al país a una corriente internacional equivocada", en alusión a las corrientes neoliberales que dominaron a Costa Rica en los últimos 15 años. "Traté de evitar que se entregara a Costa Rica atada de pies y manos, porque el precio que han pagado otros pueblos por meterse en esa aventura neoliberal es muy alto", ha apuntado Araya.</p> <p>En la próxima legislatura, Pacheco tendrá el desafío de negociar con una Asamblea Legislativa fragmentada por cuatro fuerzas políticas y en la que ningún partido goza de mayoría simple (29 diputados) ni de mayoría calificada (38 congresistas).</p> <p>Los analistas pronostican que la capacidad para establecer alianzas del Ejecutivo será un factor clave para la "governabilidad del país". La reactivación de la economía y una deuda interna de 5.000 millones de dólares son dos de los principales retos a los que se enfrentará el próximo Gobierno</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2002/04/08/actualidad/1018216804_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>World Briefing Americas: Costa Rica: Loser In Election Attacked April 10, 2002. Abel Pacheco, left, of the Social Christian Unity Party won the presidential runoff election with 58 percent of the vote. The losing candidate, Rolando Araya, was hospitalized Monday night after briefly losing consciousness when supporters of Mr. Pacheco beat him on the head with a stick. Mr. Araya was at his parents' home when backers of the winner</p>
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			got into a scuffle with his sons. As Mr. Araya rushed outside to stop the fight, he was set upon by the attackers. David Gonzalez (NYT) http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/10/world/world-briefing-americas-costa-rica-loser-in-election-attacked.html
Costa Rica 2006	1=0 2=0 3=0	On the electoral process of 2006, a winner of the Nobel Prize, got 42% of the vote and could avoid a second round. Although, he stated there had been irregularities during the electoral process, Ottón Solís recognized the victory of his opponent.	<p>Election date: 05/02/2006 Winner: Óscar Arias Sánchez Runner-up candidate: Ottón Solís Fallas</p> <p>Las autoridades electorales de Costa Rica declaran oficialmente a Óscar Arias vencedor March 6, 2006. El país. El Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones de Costa Rica declaró ayer presidente electo de su país al socialdemócrata Óscar Arias, de 65 años, quien asumirá el cargo el próximo 8 de mayo para un mandato de cuatro años. Arias, premio Nobel de la Paz en 1987, gobernó Costa Rica con anterioridad entre 1986 y 1990. "Se declara constitucionalmente electo a Óscar Arias Sánchez presidente de la República, a Laura Chinchilla Miranda primera vicepresidenta y a Kevin Casas Zamora segundo vicepresidente", declaró en una sorpresiva conferencia de prensa el presidente del Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones (TSE), Óscar Fonseca. El magistrado dijo que en los comicios presidenciales del 5 de febrero se computaron 1.623.992 votos válidos, de los cuales Arias, del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN, socialdemócrata), obtuvo 664.551 (40,92%), y Ottón Solís, del Partido Acción Ciudadana (PAC, centro), 646.382 (39,80%). La diferencia entre ambos candidatos fue de 18.169 sufragios. Desde el pasado 5 de febrero, el TSE no había podido declarar al presidente electo pues antes tuvo que proceder al recuento manual de todos los votos para presidente y, además, resolver 696 denuncias de presuntas irregularidades electorales, las cuales fueron rechazadas por los magistrados. De acuerdo con el TSE, la abstención fue del 34,8%, mayor que la de los comicios de 2002, cuando fue del 31,2%. Asimismo, el 1,83% de los votos fueron "nulos" y un 0,53%, "en blanco". "Ése es el pronunciamiento definitivo del tribunal después de determinar el conteo manual de votos y resolver las denuncias de irregularidades", agregó Fonseca, quien dijo que la resolución fue firmada el lunes por los cinco magistrados del organismo. El pasado viernes, el economista Ottón Solís, de 51 años, reconoció el triunfo de Óscar Arias en los comicios presidenciales y le envió una carta con algunas propuestas.</p>

			<p>Por su parte, Arias se proclamó "presidente de todos los costarricenses" y apeló al diálogo con los diversos sectores para poder gobernar durante el periodo 2006-2010. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2006/03/08/actualidad/1141772404_850215.html -0-</p> <p>El premio Nobel Óscar Arias gana las elecciones en Costa Rica 28 de febrero de 2006. El país. Óscar Arias, premio Nobel de la Paz, será el próximo presidente de Costa Rica. El Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones de Costa Rica (TSE) ha finalizado esta madrugada el recuento manual de votos de las elecciones del pasado 5 de febrero una vez resueltas las denuncias de irregularidades. Los resultados han sido avanzados en medio de una fuerte confusión. De acuerdo con las cifras calculadas con base en las actas oficiales del tribunal electoral, publicadas mesa por mesa, Arias, obtuvo 664.556 votos mientras que el economista Ottón Solís 646.391 votos, lo que supone una ventaja de 18.165 votos. Tanto Arias como Solís han dicho que no se referirán a los resultados hasta que el tribunal electoral haga la proclamación formal de presidente. El TSE ha hecho públicas las actas de cada mesa en el recuento manual de votos pero no ha realizado sumas ni porcentajes, por lo cual los medios locales realizan sus propios cálculos. La finalización del recuento manual no ha generado reacciones ni de Arias ni de Solís debido a que aún no se conocen los resultados oficiales, sino cálculos extraoficiales realizados por los diversos medios de comunicación Arias, del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), había pedido oco antes que el Tribunal no hiciera una declaración oficial y definitiva sobre los resultados. Es más, había pedido al Supremo Electoral que analizara "con lupa las denuncias". El contrincante de Arias, el líder del Partido Acción Ciudadana (PAC), Ottón Solís, denunció irregularidades en el escrutinio de unas 100 mesas, que se habrían contado sin el correspondiente padrón. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2006/02/23/actualidad/1140649205_850215.html</p>
<p>Costa Rica 2010</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>In 2010, Costa Rica elected their first female president. Laura Chichilla, who was a minister of Justice and the retiring Vice president, got 40% of the vote, enough to avoid a second round.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 07/02/ 2010 <i>Winner:</i> Laura Chinchilla Miranda <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Ottón Solís Fallas</p>

		<p>The runner up candidate, Ottón Solís, conceded defeat on election day.</p>	<p>La candidata del oficialista Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), Laura Chinchilla, se ha autoproclamado este domingo como la primera mujer en la historia que ocupará la presidencia de Costa Rica al obtener, según datos oficiales y con el 60% de las mesas escrutadas, el 49% de los apoyos en las elecciones que, en una jornada marcada por la ausencia de incidentes, se han celebrado en el país.</p> <p>Los datos -que superan el 40% fijado para que fuese necesaria una segunda vuelta- sitúan muy lejos de la virtual ganadora a sus dos principales rivales, que ya han reconocido su derrota, Ottón Solís, del Partido Acción Ciudadana (PAC), y el derechista Otto Guevara, del Movimiento Libertario, con el 22,46% y el 21,31% de los sufragios, respectivamente.</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2010/02/08/actualidad/1265583604_850215.html</p> <p>Ex-Vice President May Avoid Run-Off Vote in Costa Rica February 7, 2010. The New York Times.</p> <p>Early results in the Costa Rica presidential elections held Sunday gave a decisive lead to Laura Chinchilla, a former vice president who was on the verge of becoming the country's first woman president.</p> <p>Ms. Chinchilla, 50, had about 48 percent in early counting, and both the second- and third-place candidates, the leftist Ottón Solís and the libertarian Otto Guevara, conceded before 10 p.m.</p> <p>Ms. Chinchilla thanked her supporters via Twitter before heading to a hotel in the capital, San Jose, to make her victory speech.</p> <p>The campaign was dominated by voters' concerns over rising crime, and Ms. Chinchilla, a former minister of justice, has promised to raise spending on security by 50 percent.</p> <p>policies of out-going President Óscar Arias, a Nobel a Nobel Peace Prize winner who helped guide Central America out of its cold war conflicts.</p> <p>Although she follows the center-left welfare policies of her party, she is social conservative who opposes abortion and gay marriage. Ms. Chinchilla holds a master's degree in public policy from Georgetown University and is the mother of a teenage boy.</p> <p>As the early results were announced, Ms. Chinchilla's supporters began to fill the streets of the capital, waving the party's green and white flag.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/08/world/americas/08costarica.html?_r=0</p>
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Dominican Republic 1974-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Dominican Republic 1974 (not democratic)	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	<p>Facing an imminent electoral fraud, the main opposition party (PRD) boycotted the election, and after the election organized postelectoral protests, the PRD also launched a massive two-day “silent protest” in mid-July.</p> <p>But the second place in the election conceded defeat. Luis Homero Lajara Burgos, a former chief of police under Trujillo, was the only figure who opposed Balaguer in the elections.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> <i>Winner:</i> Joaquín Balaguer, Partido Reformista - Movimiento Nacional de la Juventud <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> L.H. Lajara Burgos, Partido Demócrata Popular</p> <p>Como consecuencia, el principal partido de oposición, el PRD, se abstiene en las elecciones de 1970 y 1974. Así, la competencia política queda reducida al oficialismo y algunos partidos de centro-derecha. En las elecciones presidenciales y parlamentarias de 1970, Balaguer es reelegido, pero su triunfo es denunciado de engañoso. Al empezar la década de los 70 aumenta de nuevo la violencia política por parte de terrorismo izquierdista por un lado, y la represión de las Fuerzas Armadas por otro. En 1973 se declara el estado de sitio. En reacción, los partidos políticos de oposición boicotean las elecciones de 1974. Por lo tanto, y por participación reducida de solo un 50% del electorado, la legitimidad del resultado previsible de la reelección de Balaguer queda más cuestionada que nunca. La reorientación programática del PRD hacia posiciones moderadas tiene como efecto la fundación de un nuevo partido de izquierda por Juan Bosch, el Partido de Liberación Dominicana (PLD) en 1974.</p> <p>Barrios, Herald. 1993. “República Dominicana.” Nohlen, Dieter. <i>Enciclopedia Electoral Latinoamericana y del Caribe</i>. San José de Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos. http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/5/2052/29.pdf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>By 1972 it had become apparent that Balaguer intended to stand again for the presidency. The following year, his hand was strengthened by an attempted guerrilla campaign, led by Colonel Caamaño who had mysteriously disappeared in 1967. Accompanied by ten men, Caamaño landed in February 1973 from Cuba and took to the mountains near Azua. Two weeks later the guerrillas were discovered and most of them killed by Dominican troops. In the meantime, Balaguer used the incident as a pretext to attack all opposition organizations which, he claimed, were plotting a combined insurrection and general strike. The president declared a state of emergency, sending in troops to shut down radio, newspaper and television offices, arrest over 1,400 union, student and</p>

		<p>political activists and patrol slum areas. Balaguer’s political fortunes improved further that same year with the internal collapse of the PRD. Arguing in favour of renewed abstention from elections and proposing what he called ‘dictatorship with popular support’, Juan Bosch lost control of the PRD Leadership and left to form the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD).</p> <p>With the PRD in disarray and again boycotting elections, Balaguer won unopposed in May 1974. Only half of the two million Dominican voters participated. According to Jan Knippers Black, Balaguer and his Reformist Party (PR) took few chances in the run-up to the election: It soon became very clear, however, that Balaguer would brook no serious opposition. The armed forces were openly intimidating political leaders and would-be voters. Barracks throughout the country looked like PR headquarters, and soldiers carried PR flags at the ends of their bayonets. Although there is no evidence that Balaguer was aware of it, some military officers even conspired, as the elections approached, to assassinate [PRD leader] Pena Gomez. (1986:51) [p.31]</p> <p>James Ferguson. 1992. <i>The Dominican Republic, Beyond the Lighthouse</i>. London: Latin American Bureau.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>A few months before the elections, it appeared that five opposition parties or coalitions would oppose Balaguer, although it was clear that Balaguer’s only serious threat came from the PRD coalition. Fearing a defeat at the polls, Balaguer encouraged the military to step up the pressure against his opponents, harassing and repressing their activists, destroying their propaganda, and intimidating the population. The smaller parties that remained in the National Dignity Bloc withdrew in the face of the blatant military partiality (interview by author with an opposition candidate in 1996).¹⁵ Then, on the day before the election, the PRD coalition, fearing a bloodbath, decided to pull out. Luis Homero Lajara Burgos, a former chief of police under Trujillo, was the only figure who opposed Balaguer in the elections. Balaguer was reelected, officially with 85 percent of the vote. He immediately asserted his intention to install a “government of national unity” which not surprisingly did not prosper. After mounting postelectoral protests, the PRD launched a massive two-day “silent protest” in mid-July. In his August inauguration speech, Balaguer promised to introduce a number of constitutional reforms, including the prohibition of immediate presidential reelection; none of the measures were considered in the congress, which was totally dominated [p.113]</p> <p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chappel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.</p>
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<p>Dominican Republic 1978</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>Facing an imminent defeat, the military, with Balaguer's connivance, intervened. Occupying the offices of the JCE and taking over radio and television stations, the army denied that a coup was taking place but halted the public vote counting, and tried to revert the results. But because international and local pressure, Balaguer had no choice but to concede defeat in the presidential election, but condemned foreign interference and what he claimed was PRD-inspired electoral fraud.</p> <p>Balaguer began a drawn-out legal process through the JCE, alleging that the PRD had illegally registered hundreds of thousands of Haitians and with the assistance of Venezuela computer experts had carried out massive computer fraud</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Antonio Guzmán, PRD Runner-up candidate: Joaquín Balaguer, Partido Reformista</p> <p>It became clear as elections once again approached that intimidation, cheating and an opposition boycott would jeopardize Dominican-US relations. In a cosmetic move, Balaguer allowed the Dominican Communist Party (PCD) to participate and invited election observers from the Organisation of American States. The PRD, having boycotted the two previous presidential contests, had meanwhile nominated as its own candidate Antonio Guzman, formerly agriculture minister in the brief Bosch regime and a wealthy land-owner.</p> <p>On election day, there were few reported incidents. Yet, as the results came in and it became plain that the PRD was winning, the military, with Balaguer's connivance, intervened. Occupying the offices of the JCE and taking over radio and television stations, the army denied that a coup was taking place but halted the public vote counting. The OAS and Carter administration reacted strongly; the US threatened an aid embargo, while Venezuela hinted strongly that it would cut off its supplies of oil to the Dominican Republic. Forced to make concessions by the strength of foreign and domestic opinion — Church, business and professional organizations all protested openly — Balaguer ordered the troops out of the JCE office, but condemned foreign interference and what he claimed was PRD-inspired electoral fraud. Finally, three weeks after the election, the results were announced: Guzman 52 per cent; Balaguer 42 per cent; Bosch one per cent.</p> <p>But although Balaguer had no choice but to concede defeat in the presidential contest, he managed to restrict the incoming PRD government's power by a number of strategies. Jerrymandering deprived the PRD of four senators and a seat in the chamber of deputies, allowing the Reformistas to keep their majority in the Senate and block legislation. An extraordinary session of the PR-dominated chamber of deputies voted large wage increases to the military and reduced civilian control over the security forces — days before the PRD government took over.</p> <p>With its room for manoeuvre drastically reduced, the PRD government proceeded cautiously. Memories of the anti-Bosch coup remained strong, and Guzman was in any case a conservative, disinclined to upset the Dominican elite. The PRD had also discarded much of the populism associated with Bosch and now presented itself as a technocratic and competent 'party of government'. Pena Gomez, the PRD leader most associated with the party's radical wing, left the country, ostensibly on extended travel leave. Before leaving, he warned: 'we are going into government, but we don't have power. [p.33] And without the force to back our actions it will be impossible to carry ut changes.' [p.43]</p>
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		<p>James Ferguson. 1992. <i>The Dominican Republic, Beyond the Lighthouse</i>. London: Latin American Bureau.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Una vez se inició el conteo de los votos el día 16 de mayo de 1978 y el PRD aventajó al Partido Reformista hubo un intento por parte de grupos de la alta burocracia civil y militar del balaguerismo de revertir los resultados electorales. Esto ocurrió el 17 de mayo en la madrugada, por lo que se conoce como el “madrugonazo”. A partir de ahí se inició una crisis política en torno a la distribución del poder político que expresó las tensiones y el equilibrio de fuerzas en la sociedad dominicana. En la búsqueda de una solución a esta crisis interviéron tanto los diversos sectores de la política nacional como también los poderes externos que en ese momento se vinculaban al destino político dominicano: los Estados Unidos y la socialdemocracia internacional. [p.139] La crisis electoral de 1978 se resolvió en un “compromiso forzado”. El fraude electoral para imponer a Balaguer no se materializó en su totalidad, pero la Junta Central Electoral se tomó varias semanas para declarar al partido vencedor, y en este tiempo se le atribuyó al Partido Reformista el triunfo en cuatro provincias donde había ganado el PRD. De esta forma obtuvo el PR la mayoría en el Senado, [p. 142] mientras el PRD asumió el Ejecutivo con una mayoría en la Cámara de Diputados.</p> <p>A pesar del intento de los sectores balagueristas de revertir el resultado electoral, y a pesar del fraude parcial en los resultados provinciales, la crisis electoral de 1978 reveló cambios importantes en la política dominicana, específicamente a nivel del comportamiento de las élites políticas. Podríamos decir que todos los grupos con poder de veto dejaron de lado sus posiciones maximalistas típicas del pasado. En otras palabras, la crisis de 1978 representó un ejercicio en el compromiso político para todas las partes involucradas. Primero, Balaguer, quien contaba con los recursos del Estado, con un sector importante de la población y con experiencia en el arte de la imposición política, transigió para ceder el poder al PRD. Segundo, los militares, aunque actores directos en la crisis, se mantuvieron en todo momento detrás del poder civil. Aún los que participaron en el “adrugonazo” no buscaban la instalación de un gobierno militar, sino la continuación de Balaguer. Tercero, el PRD —y junto a él una mayoría de la población dominicana— aceptó la transición con las limitaciones impuestas por las intransigencias y resistencias del grupo gobernante. Este ejercicio en el compromiso político fue una novedad en la política dominicana donde en siglo medio de vida republicana se había carecido de la capacidad de compromiso y resolución de crisis política entre grupos y proyectos disímiles. Parecería que en 1978 la memoria de las crisis y fracasos de los años 60 fue impartante para que se lograra el compromiso. Es decir, la guerra civil de 1965, la intervención norteamericana y la reorganización</p>
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			<p>autoritaria del balaguerismo servían de referene concreto para buscar una salida parcialmente satisfactoa a todas las partes con poder de veto. [p. 143]</p> <p>Espinal, Rosario. 1987. <i>Autoritarismo y democracia en la política dominicana</i>. San José de Costa Rica: CAPEL.</p> <p>Transition “from Above”: The 1978 Elections Foiling an Attempted Coup In the end, some of the more politically ambitious military did try to thwart the PRD electoral victory. As electoral results came in after polls closed on May 16, it became increasingly evident that the PRD was gaining a wide margin of victory. A military contingent stopped the vote count at the JCE around 4:00 a.m. on May 17, as the military in some areas around the country harassed PRD candidates and poll watchers. An attempt to remove the summary vote tallies (actas) of the voting stations in Santo Domingo from the headquarters of the municipal board responsible tor Santo Domingo failed; a leader of the board gave the actas to former president Galo Plaza, who hid them in his hotel room. Key players in the effort to subvert the elections included Chief of Police Nivar, who had been extremely active in Balaguer’s campaign, and the secretary of state for the armed forces, Beauchamp.¹_{SEP}32</p> <p>Yet, the actions were poorly coordinated, lacked critical support across the armed forces, and had only the tacit blessing of Balaguer himself, who was keeping his options open. The coup plotters were unable to get General Perez y Perez (commander of the army’s crucial first brigade) to go along immediately with the plot, “unless ordered directly by Balaguer”; in other words, he did not say no outright, as he was calculating the extent of possible domestic and international opposition. In fact, domestic and international actors opposed to a coup effort were appraised fairly early of which military were involved and which were wavering, as Balaguer remained indecisive (author’s interviews, 1986). Late in the night of May 18, after learning that the vote count would be able to proceed and in the face of extensive pressure, Balaguer broke his public silence, maintained since the election, in an ambiguous speech. He urged that the election results be respected, but did not acknowledge defeat, accused the PRD of fraud, and attacked outside intervention. In a meeting on May 19, an important group of junior officers rejected participation in a coup effort. International and domestic pressure to respect the electoral results and frustrations regarding the venality and politicization of certain top officers both played a role, even as the potential polarizing consequences of a coup recognized by the phrase “no one wants another 1963 [coup] because no one wants another 1965 [civil war].” Finally, at a May 20 luncheon meeting, attended by thirty-six generals and several senior PR politicians, efforts by Nivar, Beauchamp, and Jorge Moreno to have a coup declared, were rejected (Atkins 1981,108-10; author’s interview with Dominican military, 1986). [p. 123]</p>
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			<p><i>Elite Bargaining and Tacit Pact Making</i></p> <p>According to the Dominican constitution, power is transferred three months after the elections, on August 16. Balaguer intimated his strategy to buy himself time and negotiating room in his speech of May 18, which accused the PRD of massive electoral fraud. Employing a conservative, pugnacious lawyer, Marino Vinicio “Vincho” Castillo, Balaguer began a drawn-out legal process through the JCE, alleging that the PRD had illegally registered hundreds of thousands of Haitians and with the assistance of Venezuela computer experts had carried out massive computer fraud; at the same time “backdoor” negotiations to adjust the results were begun.³⁵</p> <p>Ultimately, a legal abomination known as the “historic decision” (el fallo historico) allowed the transition to go through. On July 7, 1978, the JCE ruled that serious irregularities had prevented votes potentially attributable to the PR to be cast and counted; therefore, it arbitrarily adjusted the results in four provinces, enough to give Balaguer’s party a majority in the senate (one seat in the chamber of deputies was also shifted). The senate is important because it names members of the JCE as well as judges, who would hear potential charges for corruption or human rights abuses. PRD leaders have insisted that there were no negotiations, that the adjustment of results was an imposition by Balaguer. At the same time, [p. 126] Carlos Andres Perez asserted he “supported the internal negotiations, after all, Balaguer felt he had a right to guarantees” (author’s interview, 1986, in Santo Domingo). The United States does not appear to have played a central role, though it was kept informed by Balaguer of his intentions. It took the attitude that the central issue was the presidential election: in the words of one former high-level U.S. diplomat, “this was a minor blip that didn’t affect the overall transition, what’s a Latin election without a deal of some kind?” (author’s interview, 1986). Rhetorically and legally, the PRD strenuously objected to the JCE’s decision. The Dominican supreme court threw out the PRD’s claim, since the JCE is constitutionally prescribed to be the final arbiter in all electoral matters. Yet, it is important to highlight what the PRD did not do: it did not encourage mass protest.</p> <p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chappel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 1982</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Blanco, from the PRD, won by a wide margin, in part because he ran a much more sophisticated campaign than it had previously been the case in the country.</p> <p>Balaguer ran a lackluster campaign from the opposition and was clearly</p>	<p>Election date: May 16, 1982 Winner: Salvador Jorge Blanco, PRD Runner-up candidate: Joaquín Balaguer, PRSC</p> <p>En las elecciones de 1982 el partido [PRD] postulo a Salvador Jorge Blanco, quien prometio compatibilizar las libertades publicas (alcanzadas por Guzman) con la democracia economica. Tras</p>

		<p>defeated. The result was in part due to Balaguer's continuing unpopularity and the crisis within his party which led him to repudiate his own vice-presidential running-mate. Balaguer actually withdrew from the presidential race for several days in an unsuccessful effort to force Alvarez's resignation, as the party lost valuable time in internal struggle.</p>	<p>una reñida campana en la que fueron utilizadas las más modernas tecnicas de mercadeo, el PRD alcanzo un 46,7% de los votos frente, una vez mas, a sum as cercano competidor, el PRSC, quien obtuvo un 38,6%. [p. 628]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Even more than with Bosch, however, the Guzman government failed to deliver concrete reforms to the people who had voted it into power. [...] His policies quickly alienated the PRD cadres and supporters, driving a deep rift between government and party. Guzman, it seemed, had abandoned the PRD's platform of gradual reform in favour of an open alliance with those industrialists and investors who rejected Balaguer's dictatorial and centralized style of government. Reluctantly handing over the PRD presidential candidacy to Salvador Jorge Blanco, Guzman ended his term highly unpopular and increasingly under pressure. In July 1982 he committed suicide, apparently worried that a vast corruption scandal involving close relatives was about to come into the open. Against all predictions, meanwhile, the PRD had won a second term of office in May 1982. Jorge Blanco received 46 per cent of the vote, Balaguer 36 per cent and Bosch 10 per cent. The result was in part due to Balaguer's continuing unpopularity and the crisis within his party which led him to repudiate his own vice-presidential running-mate. It also revealed that Guzman's personal unpopularity had not been transferred to the PRD, which presented its'candidate, Jorge Blanco, as a man of honesty and liberal convictions. [p. 34]</p> <p>James Ferguson. 1992. <i>The Dominican Republic, Beyond the Lighthouse</i>. London: Latin American Bureau.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Con el discurso de Jorge Blanco se rehabilitan los postulados políticos del PRD: no-reeleccion, respeto a los derechos humanos, democracia economica y honestidad. Su discurso fue más que perredeísta, aspiraba a la sociedad en su conjunto. Por eso Jorge Blanco llamó su gobierno de Concentración Nacional, que le brinde la oportunidad a todos aquellos sectores de la vida nacional sensibilizados con los problemas nacionales y dispuestos a brindar su colaboración.⁶³ Mientras para su vinculación orgánica con los perredeístas contaba con el partido, para su vinculación con los no-perredeístas contó con la Avanzada Electoral, movimiento pro candidatura de Jorge Blanco integrado fundamentalmente por profesionales de capas medias no militantes partidistas. Con ambos, Jorge Blanco montó una campaña electoral que le dio el triunfo en las elecciones de 1982. Un análisis comparado de los resultados electorales de 1978 y 1982 refleja que aunque el PRD volvió a ganar (y esta vez con una plena mayoría en la Cámara de Diputados y el Senado), el total</p>
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		<p>de votos recibidos por el partido se redujo en un 5% con respecto a 1978 (ver tabla 6). En estas elecciones, tanto el PRD como el PR –los dos partidos mayoritarios— sufrieron una baja en las votaciones con respecto a 1978; mientras el Partido que experimentó un aumento importante fue el PLD, que de 1,11% en 1978 elevó su votación a 8,71% en 1982.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In spite of these bitter internal party divisions, the PRD ultimately was able to win the May 16, 1982, elections, even gaining comfortable majorities in both the senate and the chamber of deputies. [p.173]</p> <p><i>Candidates and Campaigns</i></p> <p>In 1982, Jorge Blanco ran a much more sophisticated campaign than it had previously been the case in the country. He carried out a poll just of PRD members prior to the party convention to aid him in his strategy to gain the party’s nomination, pledging to run an honest administration. He carried out a selective publicity campaign, targeting specific types of voters, rather than making a single basic appeal; he relied on polling data during the campaign to adjust his message; he employed television systematically; and he created an organization, La Avanzada Electoral, to help bring the large numbers of independent voters into his campaign—even while his central campaign theme, “A New Generation to Power,” did not identify him with the party. Last-minute campaign spots targeted at warning potential PLD voters that they were “wasting” their vote and could end up electing Balaguer apparently led to a 5 percent decline in the PLD vote; this was aided by the fact that PLD voters tended to be younger, urban, and more educated than average and slightly more male (del Castillo 1986, 16; Vega 1986a, 25). Jorge Blanco’s campaign was also helped by the fact that Pefia Gomez agreed to be the PRD’s candidate for mayor (sindico) of Santo Domingo, where polling data showed that other proposed PRD candidates were not nearly as popular. His victory was aided by the fact that dissident voters in urban areas turned to Bosch and the PLD, rather than to Balaguer and the PR.</p> <p>In 1982, Balaguer again ran for the presidency. However, from his [p.232] perspective, the more democratic convention process that he permitted in the party was counterproductive (del Castillo 1986,17). It ultimately led to the nomination of Fernando Alvarez Bogaert as his vice presidential candidate, with which he was very unhappy. Balaguer had named Alvarez as his vice president in 1978 as a counterweight to politically ambitious military, who at that time ultimately forced Alvarez to resign. Alvarez continued to campaign for support within the party after 1978. In 1982, Balaguer actually withdrew from the presidential race for several days in an unsuccessful effort to force Alvarez’s resignation, as the party lost valuable time in internal struggle; nevertheless, in spite of a lackluster campaign and a lower vote in percentage terms, Balaguer came in a strong second (see table 8.1).</p> <p>In 1986, unlike four years earlier, Balaguer acted as if he sought to win. [p.233]</p>
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			<p><i>The JCE's Lack of Institutional Autonomy</i> Elections are intended to choose leaders—and even to resolve crises, not to create them. One reason they have created crises in the Dominican Republic has been due to the weakness and low legitimacy of the JCE. Two key reasons for the JCE’s low legitimacy have been the way its judges have been named and its lack of budgetary autonomy. The nomination of JCE judges has favored their politicization, rather than their professionalization. Until 1992, the JCE was comprised of three judges and their replacements, named by the senate for terms coterminous with each administration. Lawyers with experience in electoral matters, but with little administrative or managerial capabilities were typically selected, and their partisan bias was a relevant factor. For the 1982 elections, Balaguer’s senate controlled the process of naming the JCE judges. However, Balaguer ran a lackluster campaign from the opposition and was clearly defeated. The process of naming new JCE judges leading up to the 1986 elections was problematic. A new JCE president was selected in September 1982, but the two other judges were not. The previous ones finally resigned in July and August of 1983. After five months the president finally named the other two members by decree. The Majluta-controlled senate confirmed the designations, but named the three replacements (suplentes). Tensions between Jorge Blanco and Majluta were evident (Brea Franco 1987,42-43).^[SEP:17] [p. 245]</p> <p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chappel Hill: The Universitv of North Carolina Press.</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 1986</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>The usual allegations of fraud abounded. Vote counting was stopped in the week following polling after Majluta had challenged the process and called on the JCE to resign. After the presidential result was confirmed, the JCE took controversial decisions over who had won senatorial and mayoral elections in Santo Domingo. The outcome was a violent PRD demonstration and shoot-out in front of the JCE office in which four people were killed by police.</p>	<p>Election date: May 16, 1986 Winner: Joaquín Balaguer, PRSC Runner-up candidate: Jacobo Majluta, PRD</p> <p>En los comicios del año 1986, el partido [PRD] estuvo inmerso en una fuerte fragmentación interna debido a las luchas de tendencias. Esta crisis, sumada al descontento popular por la política económica llevada a cabo durante el gobierno de Salvador Jorge Blanco y las constantes acusaciones de corrupción por parte de la oposición, supusieron la pérdida de una buena parte de la base de votantes. En este contexto el partido presentó la candidatura de Jacobo Majluta, quien perdió por 40.000 votos frente al Partido Reformista Social Cristiano.</p> <p>Agosto, Gabriela and Francisco Cueto Villamán. 2001. “República Dominicana.” <i>Partidos políticos de América Latina : Centroamérica, México y República Dominicana</i>. Manuel Alcántara Sáez y Flavia Freidenberg (eds.). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.</p>

			<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El año 1985 fue el de las luchas intra e interpartidistas por la obtención del poder en las elecciones nacionales previstas para mayo de 1986. Por un lado encontramos el relanzamiento de la oposición, específicamente del Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC)⁶⁷ y del Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD). Y por otro, la agudización de la crisis interna del Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD).</p> <p>Mientras el PRSC y el PLD afirmaban sus interpelaciones al orden, la moralidad y la eficiencia, el PRD se desgastaba en una lucha tendencial. La Convención de noviembre de 1985 para elegir el candidato a la Presidencia de la República selló la decadencia institucional del PRD y su fraccionamiento. Al asalto violento al salón donde se celebró la Convención (conocido como el concordazo por Dcurrir en el Hotel Concorde) ante lo que parecía un Trifno de [p. 195] Jacobo Majluta contra Peña Gómez (apoyado por la tendencia jorgeblanquista). Le siguió un período de varios meses de crisis interna que llevarían al PRD a su derrota electoral en mayo de 1986. La oposición violenta de la tendencia oficialista del presidente Jorge Blanco a lo que parecía ser una victoria de su opositor Jaicobo Majluta impidió el conteo de los votos democráticos de la militancia del PRD. El asalto a la Convención también puso en cuestión el liderazgo del máximo líder e ideólogo social-demócrata del PRD. José Francisco Peña Gómez.</p> <p>La crisis convencional del PRD se resolvería meses más tarde no con base en la finalización del conteo de los votos, sino en un acuerdo entre las tendencias del PRD iconocido como el Pacto de la Unión) que nominó a Jacobo Majluta a la Presidencia, mientras la tendencia jorgeblanquista obtuvo las más importantes posiciones en el congreso.</p> <p>Y este antagonismo entre democracia ofrecida y democracia maltratada sirvió para mermar considerablemente en 8 años el liderazgo electoral del PRD. Mientras en 1978 obtuvo un 51,7% de los votos, en 1982 obtuvo un 46,7% y en 1986 un 35,5% para perder las elecciones contra Balaguer. En estos procesos electorales quien mostró un avance considerable fue el PLD que de obtener sólo un 1,1% de los votos en 1978 llegó a un 18,4% en 1986. Aunque Balaguer mejoró su posición en 1986 con respecto a 1982 en un 3,9% la merma del PRD fue a beneficiar fundamentalmente al PLD que afianzó su posición de tercer partido mayoritario aunque no se hizo opción de poder (ver tabla 6).</p> <p>Espinal, Rosario. 1987. <i>Autoritarismo y democracia en la política dominicana</i>. San José de Costa Rica: CAPEL.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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<p>Dominican Republic 1990</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>Bosch accused the government and the JCE of a "colossal fraud" and said the PLD was prepared to take to the streets</p>	<p>Election date: MAY 16, 1990 Winner: Joaquín Balaguer, PRSC</p>

		<p>with the people. The PLD and the PRD initiated legal challenges to some of the results at the municipal level, as required by law. After ruling on all legal challenges, the JCE proclaimed the final results on July 13. Joaquín Balaguer was reelected president. The PLD called for two days of "national civic mourning" as a protest.</p>	<p>Runner-up candidate: Juan Bosch, Partido de Liberación Dominicana</p> <p>El 16 de mayo de 1990, Joaquín Balaguer fue reelegido con el 35,5% de los votos mermando así su caudal electoral. Su principal rival, Juan Bosch, que representaba al Partido de Liberación Dominicana, obtuvo el 34,2% de los votos. Críticas y acusaciones de fraude se sucedieron por parte de la oposición. El conflicto político surgido dio origen a una serie de reformas de la normativa electoral, que incluía elaboración de un nuevo registro electoral. [p. 654]</p> <p>Agosto, Gabriela and Francisco Cueto Villamán. 2001. "República Dominicana." <i>Partidos políticos de América Latina : Centroamérica, México y República Dominicana</i>. Manuel Alcántara Sáez y Flavia Freidenberg (eds.). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Transition or Façade?</p> <p>That Joaquin Balaguer could successfully win the 1990 elections says much about his political acumen and stamina. It also reflects on the organizational and ideological weakness of the main opposition parties, which together polled almost 60 per cent of the vote, but which were unable to reach any tactical agreement to stop Balaguer. Instead, the PLD and the PRD, at loggerheads since the 1970s and dominated PRD, for the first time in its history, was pushed into third place. While PRD, for the first time in its history, was pushed into third place, while the PLD continued its spectacular rise, officially winning 34 per cent of the votes, and claiming a much higher percentage.</p> <p>The allegations of electoral fraud and corruption reinforced doubts over the real extent of the much-vaunted transition to democracy since Trujillo. Not only was the election discredited by the widespread accusations of malpractice, but the massive scale of popular abstention revealed a continuing lack of confidence in the process among large [p. 36] numbers of Dominicans. As a result, the 1990 Balaguer regime took office with the electoral support of only 18 per cent of Dominican voters. [p. 37]</p> <p>James Ferguson. 1992. <i>The Dominican Republic, Beyond the Lighthouse</i>. London: Latin American Bureau.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Throughout the 1990 campaign, the PLD and the PRD also presented numerous allegations of potential fraud. The major issues were the accuracy of the electoral registry; illegal voting by members of the armed forces, non [p. 248] citizens (especially Haitians), or underage citizens; vote buying or preventing sympathizers of opposing parties from voting by buying or "renting" their</p>
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			<p>voter identity cards (cedulas) on election day; fraud at electoral polling booths [mesas electorales]; PR(SC) domination of municipal electoral boards; and manipulation of the vote count by the computers of the JCE. The PLD went further and asserted that its victory could only be prevented by fraud. But Bosch was unable to appeal to the church as a neutral arbiter (as had occurred in 1986) because of his conflicts with it. Thus, he approached Jimmy Carter and requested that the former U.S. president head an international delegation to observe the 1990 elections.</p> <p>The weakness of the JCE during the vote count again became evident. The count following the election proceeded very slowly; the fifth bulletin, transmitted around 8 a.m. the next morning, gave the results of only 155 mesas. Initially, the main problem was in Santo Domingo, where the preprinted, computer-coded tally sheets previously prepared for each mesa had been erroneously distributed in a large percentage of cases, leading to massive delays in data entry. The JCE feared that any explanation of the delay would foster further distrust—particularly given that, beginning with the sixth bulletin, the lead had shifted from Bosch to Balaguer. Carter was asked to help legitimize the JCE. Midmorning on Thursday, Carter agreed to make a joint television appearance with the president of the JCE in which he provided his own assurances that the vote count was being undertaken fairly and that the delay was caused by a technical problem that was being corrected.</p> <p>However, as the narrow margin for Balaguer maintained itself, Bosch accused the government and the JCE of a “colossal fraud” and said the PLD was prepared to take to the streets with the people. Yet, on the day after the elections, no one knew who had won. The parties’ own computer centers still had incomplete results, and late that night the JCE had still not even received the tally sheets from 1,000 mesas around the country. Nor were there any obvious indications of massive fraud. For these reasons, Pefia Gomez and the PRD refused to support Bosch in his claim of victory. As negotiating efforts, particularly by Pefia Gomez, began to falter, Carter was approached as a neutral mediator and guarantor of the electoral process. He helped defuse the immediate postelectoral crisis atmosphere, but after his departure the process of verification and review of the vote count soon broke down.</p> <p>The PLD was never able to provide convincing proof of fraud, and the small international delegations had not clearly witnessed any.²¹ Nevertheless, there was a widespread perception throughout the country that there had been fraud, generated by the multiple irregularities, the weakness of the JCE, and incessant PLD charges. And, in the months and years after the election, [p. 249] Doiminican researchers asserted they found clearer evidence of the purchasing of identity cards to prevent people from voting in poor, probable proBosch neighborhoods; of military voting; and of duplicate identity cards allowing multiple voting (Moya Pons 1992. 584—85).²² [p. 250]</p>
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			<p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The process ultimately limped to a conclusion, albeit an unsatisfying one. The review of the tally sheets proposed by Carter bogged down over disputes about procedure among the JCE and the various political parties even as the PLD and the PRD initiated legal challenges to some of the results at the municipal level, as required by law. The JCE president, upset that Carter had apparently questioned the JCE's autonomy by sending a letter to Balaguer urging rapid completion of the tally-sheet review, indirectly attacked Carter by criticizing the observer team he left behind. The U.S. ambassador responded by defending the Carter mission's objectivity and professionalism. In the face of ever-expanding data requests from the PLD, the JCE ultimately suspended the review of the tally sheets on June 2. The PLD continued to publicize its charges of fraud in the country and abroad and called for new [p. 102] elections to be held in Santo Domingo. There were numerous cases of improperly completed tally sheets, duplicated identity cards, and other irregularities, as well as anecdotal information about the misuse of official resources to favor the PRSC, vote buying, and voting by military personnel (which is constitutionally prohibited). Indeed, some municipal election board rulings, particularly in senatorial races, smacked of strong partiality toward the PRSC. Although clear evidence of fraud did not surface, many Dominicans continued to suspect that the elections were tainted.</p> <p>After ruling on all legal challenges, the JCE proclaimed the final results on July 13. Joaquín Balaguer was reelected president. Despite continuing protests from the PRD, the PRSC also obtained a narrow Senate majority of 16 seats to the PLD's 12 and the PRD's 2. Control of the Senate gives the PRSC control of all nominations to the judiciary and the JCE for the 1990-94 period. In the Chamber of Deputies the allocation of seats, based on proportional representation, was significantly different: 41 for the PRSC, 44 for the PLD, 33 for the PRD, and 2 for the PRI. The PLD called for two days of "national civic mourning" as a protest.</p> <p>Jonathan Hartlyn. 1990. "The Dominican Republic's Disputed Elections" <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 1(4): 92-103.</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 1994</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>International observers and the opposition denounced through documentation and press conferences the electoral fraud. After the proclamation of Balaguer as president, the PLD accepted the decision, but the</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> May 16, 1994 <i>Winner:</i> Joaquín Balaguer (PRSC) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> José Francisco Peña Gómez (PRD)</p>

		<p>PRD call his supporters to defend their triumph and denounced the fraud before international organizations. With his proclamation as president secure, Balaguer intensified complex “dual-track” negotiations with both the PRD and the PLD. On August 9, Balaguer offered to divide his four-year term with Pefia Gomez, although of course with the first two years for Balaguer; Pefia Gomez asked for time to reflect on it. A Pact for Democracy was signed in the presidential palace. The pact promised new elections in eighteen months and several constitutional reforms, including the banning of immediate presidential reelection.</p>	<p>En el año 1994, Peña Gómez participó por segunda vez, encabezando una coalición de partidos liderada por el PRD en el denominado «Acuerdo de Santo Domingo». Estas elecciones estuvieron plagadas de acusaciones de fraude dirigidas contra el partido en el gobierno (PRSC). Antes de que la Junta Central Electoral emitiera el veredicto final, los observadores internacionales, los partidos de oposición, y los movimientos cívicos, se manifestaron públicamente a través de documentos y ruedas de prensa argumentando que las elecciones no habían sido limpias. Las presiones internas y externas obligaron a la Junta Central Electoral a formar una «Comisión de Verificación» con el objetivo de examinar las listas de votantes, lugar donde se presumía había ocurrido el fraude electoral. El 12 de junio la citada Comisión ofreció los resultados: de un total de 9.000 listas, se tomó una muestra de 1.468 y se comprobó que se habían desplazado 28.672 nombres. Con este dato la Comisión confirmó la sospecha de irregularidad. Sin embargo, como bien nos señala Espinal, el informe de la Comisión fue inconcluso en tres puntos muy importantes: no estimó el número total de nombres desplazados en el ámbito nacional, no estableció cómo se realizó el cambio de nombres ni quién lo hizo y, no valoró en qué medida estas irregularidades habían afectado los resultados electorales. Al no ser concluyente en torno a estos puntos clave el informe se interpretó de diferentes maneras: el prd consideró que la discrepancia de nombres era una prueba más de su acusación, en cambio el Partido Reformista Social Cristiano y la Junta Central Electoral consideraron que el informe no había establecido claramente que el cambio de nombres se había hecho de forma intencional, por lo tanto, no había que realizar otras elecciones allí donde se habían detectado irregularidades como proponían el prd y el Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos.</p> <p>El 2 de agosto la Junta Central Electoral proclamó al Partido Reformista Social Cristiano como ganador. Sin embargo, la crisis no finalizó, aunque el Partido de la Liberación Dominicana acató la decisión¹⁷. Varios sectores se opusieron, Participación Ciudadana y el Departamento de Estado de la Embajada de los Estados Unidos se mantuvieron contrarios en declarar a Balaguer ganador hasta que no se determinaran las responsabilidades del fraude¹⁸. Entre tanto, el PRD mantenía animada a su militancia a defender el triunfo y denunciaba ante los organismos internacionales la intención del PRSC de mantenerse en el poder a través de un fraude electoral «colosal».</p> <p>Ese mismo mes, se reunieron los tres partidos mayoritarios con la mediación de la Iglesia Católica, del representante de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) y delegados de la sociedad civil con el fin de buscar una salida negociada. El resultado fue el siguiente: 1) aceptar la proclamación de Balaguer como Presidente por un periodo de dieciocho meses y celebrar nuevas elecciones al cabo de dicho tiempo¹⁹, 2) nombrar nuevos jueces que compondrían una nueva Junta Central Electoral; 3) establecer el ballottage a un cincuenta por ciento²⁰ y, 4) prohibir la reelección presidencial para un [p. 629] segundo periodo consecutivo y mantener, desde ese momento, las elecciones presidenciales separadas de las congresionales y municipales.</p>
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			<p>potential for abuse was naturally very great. President Jorge Blanco refused to allow the offices related to identity cards to be placed under the control of the JCE for the 1986 elections. And, leading up to the 1990 elections, Balaguer named a staunch PR(SC) loyalist to direct the offices that distributed the identification cards (Brea Franco 1987,44; Tavares 1993,142). [p. 251]</p> <p>In 1994, unlike 1990, there was more extensive international participation and a formal domestic mediating group. International advisers had been working with the JCE for some time. There was a major delegation to observe the elections from the OAS, and other delegations from the NDI and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). A domestic ad hoc Commission to Observe the Pact of Civility was created. On election day, irregularities and discrepancies between the official voter registry rolls and those earlier given to the parties were personally witnessed by many of the international observers. The major international observer groups denounced the issue soon after the election.²⁴ Their charges were soon echoed by the mainstream U.S. press and by the U.S. government, which was generally more attentive to issues of democracy due to Haiti.²⁵ Over the next several weeks, the PRD did an outstanding job of documenting the manipulation of voter rolls throughout the country, in spite of numerous obstacles. Key domestic groups remained unwilling to challenge the ability of the JCE to proceed with an honest vote count, either out of a naïve faith in the good will of the president of the organization or because they actually favored Balaguer’s reelection over a Pena Gomez presidency. Nevertheless, under pressure, the JCE established an internal commission with participation by some members of the ad hoc commission. The report of this JCE commission essentially substantiated the fraud; it admitted a significant problem with disenfranchisement among the small numbers of voting stations it was able to review and also pointed to incredible anomalies in the management of the JCE computer and official voter registry rolls.²⁶ The JCE simply ignored its own internal report; it also dismissed the July 22 decision to nullify the elections of the electoral board of Santo Domingo.</p> <p>Balaguer was officially declared the winner on August 2, 1994. As in the past, though, Balaguer also desperately sought to control the senate. One step in that direction was achieved by dealing with the PLD. A legal loophole regarding proper notification of party alliances was invented to enable the JCE to give the PLD one senate seat that otherwise would have gone to the PRD coalition, which thus ended up with fifteen of thirty senators; three chamber seats were similarly affected (Diaz 1996,179-87). The second step, which came later, was to win back the allegiance of a former Alvarez supporter who had been elected senator on the PRD alliance ticket.</p> <p>With his proclamation as president secure, Balaguer intensified complex [p.253] “dual-track” negotiations with both the PRD and the PLD, as strong pressure from the United States to hold new elections also continued.²⁷ Given their party’s poor electoral performance, and the intense animosity at the top between the PLD and the PRD, PLD leaders believed they had much to gain through effective negotiations with Balaguer. On August 9, Balaguer offered to divide his four-year term with Pefia Gomez, although of course with the first two years for Balaguer; Pefia Gomez</p>
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		<p>asked for time to reflect on it. Ultimately he opted to reject it; the head of the OAS delegation and Monsignor Nunez Collado also believed the offer would make a mockery of the electoral process. Tortuous negotiations followed with apparently differing agreements contracted between Balaguer and the PLD and Balaguer and the PRD.</p> <p>A Pact for Democracy was signed in the presidential palace in an elaborate ceremony with dozens of witnesses on August 10, which approximated more the agreement contracted between Balaguer and the PLD. The pact promised new elections in eighteen months and several constitutional reforms, including the banning of immediate presidential reelection. The old 1990-94 congress ultimately approved a series of significant constitutional reforms in an accelerated fashion, completing the process just hours before Balaguer was inaugurated president again on August 16, 1994. These reforms included the prohibition of immediate president reelection, the holding of new elections in two years (Peña Gomez had originally agreed to eighteen months), and the requirement that a second round be held among the top two vote holders if no candidate received more than 50 percent of the vote in the first round (Peña Gomez had agreed to a 40 percent threshold, and this seemingly minor change was to seal his fate two years later). Other reforms extended the right of Dominicans to hold dual nationality, a long-term request of overseas Dominicans (Graham 1996), and called for the establishment of a special council consisting of representatives from the three branches of government and from different parties (Consejo Nacional de la Magistratura) to name supreme court judges. This reform also extended lifetime tenure to all judges, a move that was poorly thought through, but with the good intention of seeking to help professionalize and depoliticize the judicial branch. Finally, the constitution was reformed to require that all future elections be held by a system of closed voting stations (colegios cerrados), which would require voters to remain at their polling places until they had voted as a means of preventing double-voting.²⁸ There was also a stated consensus that a new JCE should be nonpartisan. The PR(SC) and the PLD divided up control of congress, marginalizing the PRD, which was boycotting the sessions in protest. [p. 254]</p> <p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chappel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>JUEVES 4- 8- 94 INTERNACIONAL -Iberoamérica- ABC 35 República Dominicana La oposición convoca a la huelga tras la proclamación de Balaguer como ganador Washington, decepcionado vuelve a pedir nuevas elecciones Santo Domingo. Óscar Peña La sorpresiva declaración de la Junta Electoral Central dominicana de dar validez a las elecciones de mayo y proclamar presidente a Joaquín Balaguer ha provocado violentas protestas en la capital que, de momento, han llevado al</p>
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			<p>hospital a un hombre, tiroteado cuando se manifestaba junto a dirigentes del opositor Partido Revolucionario Dominicano. Washington, decepcionado insiste en que hay que convocar otras elecciones. La oposición en pleno ha recibido con un fuerte rechazo la proclamación del octogenario presidente Joaquín Balaguer como ganador de las elecciones generales del pasado 16 de mayo, por el alegado fraude cometido en los comicios.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1994/08/04/035.html</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 1996</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Peña Gomez's concession the day after the election was aided by the fact that the margin of victory was sufficiently convincing and that the vote count was consonant with those generated by independent and party quick counts.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> June 30, 1996, second round <i>Winner:</i> Leonel Fernández. PLD <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> José Francisco Peña Gómez, PRD</p> <p>En las elecciones de 1996 el PRD se presentó nuevamente con el «Acuerdo de Santo Domingo» y con José Francisco Peña Gómez como candidato presidencial, manteniendo la línea política de la campaña anterior. En la primera vuelta electoral fue la coalición más votada con un 45,9%, quedando en Segundo lugar el Partido de la Liberación Dominicana. En la segunda vuelta electoral el apoyo del Partido Reformista Social Cristiano al Partido de la Liberación Dominicana a través del «Frente Patriótico» revirtió los resultados impidiendo al prd alzarse con el poder. [p. 630]</p> <p>Los comicios del 16 de mayo de 1996 —reconocidos globalmente como transparentes— fueron los primeros desde 1962 en los que no se presentó Joaquín Balaguer como candidato, produciéndose, a la vez, el primer traspaso presidencial desde 1986. En estas elecciones el candidato del PRSC, Jacinto Peynado, quedó en tercer lugar con 15% de los votos en primera vuelta. En segunda vuelta el partido formalizó su apoyo al pld a través de la creación del «Frente Patriótico Nacional», el cual unió a los maximos dirigentes de ambos partidos, Joaquín Balaguer y Juan Bosch, cuyo antagonismo caracterizó la política dominicana durante más de tres décadas. [p. 655]</p> <p>En las elecciones del año 1996, donde se implemento por primera vez la segunda vuelta electoral, el pld presentó la candidatura presidencial de Leonel Fernández, quien en la primera vuelta, celebrada el 16 de mayo, quedó en Segundo lugar con el 38,9% de los votos. Tras la constitución del «Frente Patriótico Nacional», Fernández fue elegido Presidente en segunda vuelta con el 51.2% imponiéndose a José Francisco Peña Gómez, del PRD, quien obtuvo un 48% de los votos emitidos. [p.678]</p> <p>Agosto, Gabriela and Francisco Cueto Villamán. 2001. "República Dominicana." <i>Partidos políticos de América Latina : Centroamérica, México y República Dominicana</i>. Manuel Alcántara Sáez y Flavia Freidenberg (eds.). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.</p>

			<p>The 1996 Elections</p> <p>The 1996 elections were a contest among candidates from the country’s three major parties in a first round on May 10, 1990, and then between the top two on June 30. The front-runner in the polls going into the first round was Pena Gomez of the PRD and the Acuerdo de Santo Domingo. [p. 259]</p> <p>Another difference from past elections, however, was the professionalism, dynamism, integrity, and political independence of the judges of the JCE. A top PRD leader, in giving the background of the four men and one woman and how they came to be named, described each of them as “serious” (autrior’ field notes, May 1996). In the past, other criteria had been more important. The parties had initially been satisfied with a weak JCE, from which they could seek to extract political advantage. Following the 1990 crisis, the opposition parties had sought to insure party representation within the agency to protect their interests. Then came the 1994 crisis, which taught the parties the risks of the strategy of a partisan-based JCE and also provided the domestic and international pressure necessary to name an independent, professional JCE for the 1996 elections. Throughout the process, the president of the JCE, Cesar Estrella Sadhala, and his fellow judges demonstrated their commitment to well-managed, honest elections. Furthermore, the process of renovation of new judges also took place among many municipal-level boards. The JCE carried out a significant effort to improve the electoral registry, eliminating to the extent possible people with more than one identification card, people who were deceased, and military and police personnel who improperly had ID cards since they were legally prohibited from voting. Although some problems remained, the JCE also provided all the parties with computer copies of the electoral registry for their examination weeks in advance, unlike what took place in 1994. There was also a dramatic improvement both in the training of the officials who worked at the individual voting stations and in the seriousness with which they accepted their responsibilities. [p. 261]</p> <p>At another level, the effort from civil society was focused on the dual goal of supporting the JCE while providing additional outside checks on the quality of its work and the veracity of its results. Parts of the GAD and other groups were active in providing electoral and civic training leading up to the elections. They also helped develop a network of domestic election observers, the Red Ciudadana de Observadores Electorales (Citizen Network of Electoral Observers). This network was intended to observe and critique the election process as well as generate an independent “quick count,” which would serve as an additional valuable source of information in a potential crisis situation. [p. 262]</p> <p>Uei. In the weeks before the May 16 elections, the PLD threatened to object to any “Haitian-looking” voter, claiming that the PRD had illegally registered thousands of Haitians to vote, but the party backed away from that position in the face of both domestic and international objections. Other allegations of potential fraud, similar to those in past elections, were common. [p. 263]</p>
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			<p>The results of the first-round election demonstrated the importance of electoral rules for the final outcome. In 1994, Pena Gomez had indicated his support for a second-round election if no candidate had received more than 40 percent of the vote in the first round; however, the final accord struck between the PLD and the PR(SC), which was approved as the constitutional reform, specified a threshold of 50 percent. Pena Gomez won the first round with 45.9 percent of the total vote. Fernandez received 38.9 percent, and Peynado came in a distant third, with 15.0 percent (see table 9.1).</p> <p>Given this gap, how can we explain that Fernandez won the second-round election with 51.3 percent of the vote forty-five days later? There appear to be three main explanations: active support for his candidacy from Balaguer and the PR(SC); the fact that many of these voters were already predisposed to support Fernandez over Pena Gomez as their second choice; and the ability of Fernandez to broaden his coalition without generating large-scale defections to Peña Gomez among his first-round supporters. [p. 264]</p> <p>Leading up to the second-round elections, the PLD stepped up charges that the PRD was “buying” or “renting cedulas from PLD supporters to prevent them from voting. [p. 266]</p> <p>Regardless of the electoral results, the country could be satisfied with the process itself. Significant changes in the factors identified as leading to crisisridden elections in the country over the 1978-94 period explain why the 1996 elections were different. President Balaguer was not seeking reelection, the JCE moved toward a model of nonpartisan professionalism, and there was a more concerted engagement in support of the electoral process on the part of domestic societal groups, including domestic observers on election day. International pressure remained significant throughout. Peña Gomez’s concession the day after the election was aided by the fact that the margin of victory was sufficiently convincing and that the vote count was consonant with those generated by independent and party quick counts. It also reflected Peña Gomez’s continuing restraint in electoral periods, which he has shown since at least 1978. [p. 267]</p> <p>Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. <i>The struggle for democratic politics in the Dominican Republic</i>. Chappel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 2000</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Medina said he not seek a runoff vote despite calls to do so from some in his PLD party. As a result Mejía was inaugurated as president on the 16 August 2000.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Martes 16 de mayo de 2000 <i>Winner:</i> Hipolito Mejia - PRD <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Danilo Medina - PLD</p>

			<p>Presidential elections were held in the Dominican Republic on 16 May 2000.[1] Hipólito Mejía of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) won the election, defeating Danilo Medina of the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) and former president Joaquín Balaguer of the Social Christian Reformist Party (PRSC). Voter turnout was 76.1%.</p> <p>The results saw Hipólito Mejía win 49.87% of the vote, compared to 24.9% for Danilo Medina and 24.6% for Joaquín Balaguer.[13] Despite being just short of the majority required to avoid a runoff Mejía's supporters claimed victory and called on the opposition to avoid the expense of a runoff on the 30 June.[13] After Balaguer said that he could not ensure all his supporters would back Medina, Medina said he not seek a runoff vote despite calls to do so from some in his PLD party.[12]</p> <p>As a result Mejía was inaugurated as president on the 16 August 2000 and said that making the government accountable, education, health and welfare would be his priorities as president.[14]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Runoff or Not, Dominican Opposition Declares Victory By DAVID GONZALEZ Published: May 18, 2000</p> <p>Tantalizingly close to an outright majority, Hipolito Mejia of the left-leaning Dominican Revolutionary Party today declared himself the winner of Tuesday's presidential election, vowing that the country's poorest residents would no longer be bystanders to the economic boom of the last four years.</p> <p>His exuberant declaration -- which came more than 12 hours before the electoral council said tonight that he had 49.85 percent of the vote with 99 percent of the ballots counted -- sent thousands of supporters to the streets waving the party's white banner as they danced to a symphony of honking horns. [...]</p> <p>The premature celebrations were criticized by supporters of the Dominican Liberation Party, who had wanted their candidate, Danilo Medina, to face Mr. Mejia in a runoff. While Mr. Mejia's supporters had taken to the streets, the final tally was delayed as exhausted members of the electoral council took a five-hour break to get some sleep. The Dominican Liberation Party, or P.L.D., and the Social Christian Reformist Party of the country's longtime former president, Joaquin Balaguer, garnered 24.9 and 24.6 percent of the vote respectively.</p> <p>The celebratory mood, however, turned violent tonight when shots were fired near the headquarters of the Dominican Liberation Party. Witnesses said the shots came from a car that was flying the banner of the Dominican Revolutionary Party. Security men from the Liberation Party returned the fire. No one was injured and the car sped off after glancing off a parked car.</p>
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Dominican Republic 2004	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	President Hipólito Mejía conceded defeat late Sunday even though the Electoral Board had only counted 3 percent of the votes. He said his own voter surveys had made it clear that he would lose.	<p><i>Election date:</i> May 16, 2004 <i>Winner:</i> Leonel Fernández, PLD <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Hipólito Mejía, PRD</p> <p>Presidential elections were held in the Dominican Republic on 16 May 2004.[1] The result was a victory for former president Leonel Fernández, who defeated incumbent Hipólito Mejía. Voter turnout was 72.8%</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El ex presidente Leonel Fernández gana ampliamente las elecciones en República Dominicana SANTO DOMINGO.- El ex presidente Leonel Fernández ha ganado ampliamente las elecciones presidenciales celebradas este domingo en República Dominicana y será proclamado presidente electo sin necesidad de ir a una segunda vuelta. De acuerdo a los primeros resultados ofrecidos por la Junta Central Electoral (JCE), Fernández, candidato del Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), ha obtenido más del 51% de los votos. Esos mismos datos indican que el actual gobernante y candidato del Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), Hipólito Mejía, se ha quedado en un segundo lugar con el 31% de los votos. Fuentes del PRD, que admitieron la derrota de su candidato, informaron de que un cómputo rápido hecho por ese partido sobre un 15% de los sufragios escrutados indica que Fernández obtendrá una victoria con algo más del 53 por ciento de los votos. Los resultados de ese cómputo rápido indican que Mejía alcanzará el 37% de los votos, y que en tercer lugar quedará el candidato del Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC), Eduardo Estrella, con el 7%, aproximadamente. 'Un honor' "Yo doy como ganador al Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD) y por consiguiente felicito a Fernández por esta victoria", aseguró Mejía, el actual mandatario, que concluirá su mandato el próximo 16 de agosto. Una hora después, el futuro presidente, Leonel Fernández, felicitó "a los compañeros del Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), a las fuerzas aliadas, porque tuvieron fe y confianza en nuestra victoria". Fernández también expresó su agradecimiento al presidente dominicano, Hipólito Mejía, a quien venció en las votaciones, por reconocer su derrota en las urnas. "Agradezco a Mejía por este</p>

			<p>reconocimiento público, porque creo contribuye a la democracia en nuestro país", expresó Fernández, que gobernó el país durante el período 1996-2000.</p> <p>"Simple y llanamente es un honor tomar de nuevo los destinos nacionales, y sobretodo contribuir a enfrentar la crisis económica y social que afecta el país", manifestó Fernández.</p> <p>Irregularidades</p> <p>Para evitar una segunda vuelta, el ganador de los comicios presidenciales en República Dominicana necesita obtener, como mínimo, el 50% más uno de los votos.</p> <p>La JCE ofreció los primeros datos poco después de que los observadores de la OEA, varios embajadores y las autoridades electorales anunciaran la existencia de irregularidades al iniciarse el proceso de cómputo oficial de votos.</p> <p>En una imprevista rueda de prensa conjunta, respaldado por los miembros de la Junta Central Electoral (JCE), los observadores de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) y varios embajadores extranjeros, el sacerdote Agripino Núñez Collado llegó a pedir "que Dios le de fuerza a todos los que tienen la responsabilidad de proteger las urnas electorales".</p> <p>Núñez Collado, que es presidente de la comisión de seguimiento de los trabajos de la JCE, habló, sin dar muchas más explicaciones, de "acontecimientos preocupantes" e insistió en que "es una responsabilidad de las autoridades respetar" el resultado de la voluntad popular expresado en las urnas.</p> <p>Violencia</p> <p>La jornada electoral ha estado marcada también por la violencia. En la provincia de Barahona, a unos 200 kilómetros al oeste, dos militantes oficialistas y un opositor murieron en un tiroteo. En otro incidente en esa misma provincia, tres personas murieron cerca de un centro de votación, según informaron las autoridades.</p> <p>http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/05/16/internacional/1084703853.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>World Briefing Americas: Dominican Republic: A New President Published: May 18, 2004</p> <p>With a hard-fought election victory in hand, President-elect Leonel Fernández, left, began preparing for the herculean challenge of pulling the country out of its worst economic crisis in decades. President Hipólito Mejía conceded defeat late Sunday even though the Electoral Board had only counted 3 percent of the votes. He said his own voter surveys had made it clear that he would lose. With 53 percent of the vote counted by yesterday afternoon, electoral officials said Mr. Fernández, who was president from 1996 to 2000, was leading with 55 percent against Mr. Mejía's 35 percent. A third candidate had 9 percent. It was the first election in which Dominicans living abroad were able to vote, including 52,000 registered in the United States. Mr. Fernández said his first move</p>
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<p>Dominican Republic 2008</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Vargas, from the PRD, conceded late Friday, although denounced the use of public funds in favor of the President.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> May 16, 2008 <i>Winner:</i> Leonel Fernández, PLD <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Miguel Vargas, PRD</p> <p>On 17 May, preliminary results from the Central Electoral Commission, based on 91% of precincts, showed that Fernández was reelected with 54% of the vote, while Vargas had 40% and Aristy 5%. Fernández declared victory, while Vargas conceded defeat; the Organization of American States congratulated Fernández.[4]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>May 17, 2008 Dominican President Wins a Third Term By MARC LACEY SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — Dominicans who went to the polls on Friday had been given chickens, poured beer, promised new homes and even handed cash during a spirited frenzy of campaigning. But President Leonel Fernández won a third term in office largely as a result of a campaign gift to the populace that dwarfed those of his six opponents: a shiny new subway system. Mr. Fernández’s campaign slogan was “Pa’lante,” Dominican slang for onward, and his giant public works project was rushed to completion to allow him to offer free rides before the polling. For a while he even drove the subway train, the first in the Caribbean outside of Puerto Rico. Opponents said the \$710 million used to build the nine-mile subway line, which happens to roll through the struggling neighborhood where Mr. Fernández was born, could have been better spent on the country’s poor. “All that money that went for this should have gone here,” said Eddie Urenya, 55 and unemployed, rubbing his belly. “It’s nice, but is it needed?” Perhaps not. But many Dominicans said they saw the project, which still had not opened officially, as a sign of the country’s progress. And in a country where corruption is all too common, others argued that at least the money was not pocketed.</p>

			<p>“It’s true that it’s a lot of money, but it’s a project for the people,” said Ramona Hernández, director of the Dominican Studies Institute at the City College of New York.</p> <p>Mr. Fernández grew up in the Bronx and maintains strong ties there. “Leonel grew up in New York and has a fascination with the place,” said Eduardo Gamarra, a professor at Florida International University in Miami and Mr. Fernández’s longtime friend and campaign consultant. “For him, the Metro is part of that, a way to make this city modern and boost national pride.”</p> <p>Early returns Friday night showed that Mr. Fernández appeared to have garnered more than 50 percent of the vote and clearly would not need to enter a runoff election. His main opponent conceded late Friday.</p> <p>Mr. Fernández has been widely credited with steadying a country that he inherited in economic crisis. He was first elected in 1996 and then returned to the presidency in 2004, as banks collapsed, inflation skyrocketed and waves of Dominicans headed to the ocean in boats to seek better lives in the United States.</p> <p>Mr. Fernández’s chief competitor, Miguel Vargas, an engineer, was public works minister in the last government. The two men battled during the campaign over which of them would drag the Dominican Republic back to its troubled past.</p> <p>Mr. Fernández, 54, whose Dominican Liberation Party vastly outspent all rivals, sought to link Mr. Vargas with the problem-plagued presidency from 2000 to 2004 of Hipólito Mejía, who left the country near collapse.</p> <p>And Mr. Vargas, 57, representing the Dominican Revolutionary Party, raised the specter of the last president to win two consecutive terms, Joaquín Balaguer, a strongman who rigged elections, jailed opponents and stuck around for decades, leaving office in 1996.</p> <p>“We have seen the harm that re-election has done,” Mr. Vargas said at a recent election rally.</p> <p>Mr. Balaguer’s legacy prompted the country in 1996 to bar sitting presidents from serving again, a law that was changed again in 2002 to allow two consecutive terms.</p> <p>Mr. Fernández has made no secret of his desire to amend the Constitution to lift term limits altogether, a controversial notion in a country with a history of dictatorship.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/17/world/americas/17dominican.html?_r=0&pagewanted=print</p> <p>Leonel Fernández sale reelegido en las elecciones de la República Dominicana Fernández ha obtenido más del 53 % de los votos, según los resultados parciales Actualizado lunes 19/05/2008 08:26 (CET) EFE SANTO DOMINGO.- El candidato del opositor Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), Miguel Vargas, aceptó su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales celebradas este viernes, aunque atribuyó el resultado al "descarado" uso de los recursos del Estado.</p>
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			<p>"Acepto y reconozco los resultados de estas elecciones, los acepto a pesar de que estos resultados reflejan de manera significativa la embestida del más descarado uso de los recursos del Estado para imponer una reelección", declaró Vargas en una alocución desde la sede de su proyecto político. El ex ministro de Obras Públicas agradeció el respaldo de quienes votaron por su candidatura, al tiempo que felicitó a los ciudadanos por el "orden y disciplina" que observaron durante el proceso. "Me comprometo junto a mi partido, a continuar representando los intereses del pueblo dominicano, para que en un ambiente democrático logremos juntos más y mejores oportunidades", agregó el candidato, ingeniero de profesión.</p> <p>Vargas enfrentó al presidente dominicano, Leonel Fernández, candidato del oficialista Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), y quien obtuvo más del 53% de los votos, según los resultados parciales emitidos por la Junta Central Electoral (JCE) y con los que aventajaba en más de 11 puntos a Vargas.</p> <p>El dirigente del PRD agradeció a Dios, a su familia y a su compañero de papeleta, José Joaquín Puello, por haberlo respaldado de manera "incondicional" en todo el proceso.</p> <p>"Quiero agradecer también a los miles de votantes independientes y de otros partidos que me han dado su respaldo, sobre todo a los más pobres, a los marginados, que vieron en nosotros su esperanza por un futuro mejor", expresó el ex funcionario.</p> <p>Fernández, de 53 años, se prepara ahora para asumir su tercer mandato, ya que también gobernó en el período 1996-2000.</p> <p>En las elecciones presidenciales dominicanas también participaron otros cinco candidatos, entre ellos al ex senador Amable Arísty, del opositor Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC), quien apenas cuenta con el 4,8% de los votos.</p> <p>http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/05/17/internacional/1210981705.html</p>
<p>Dominican Republic 2012</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate and party, initially refused to concede defeat, but they did so after several days.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 05/20/2012 <i>Winner:</i> Danilo Medina, PLD <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Hipolito Mejía, PRD</p> <p>Presidential elections were held in the Dominican Republic on 20 May 2012. Danilo Medina of the ruling Dominican Liberation Party was elected president with a majority of votes in the first ballot.</p> <p>This was the first election to involve participation by Dominican citizens abroad. In addition to voting for the president and vice-president, Dominican expatriates participated in by-elections for seven new seats (within three overseas constituencies) in the Chamber of Deputies.</p> <p>After the PLD declared victory, supporters of Mejía complained about cases of fraud, including vote-buying, and announced to contest the result. Mejía refused to concede to Medina and doubted</p>

			<p>the result. The PRD representative on the Central Electoral Commission claimed that the official result reflected much less votes than Mejía should have had received, and indicated that the head of the commission was a partisan of the PLD. Amid an overall orderly electoral process, there were some reports of adherents of both major parties offering money to voters in exchange for voting for their candidate or for passing their vote cards. Incidents of vote-buying were confirmed by the observers from the Organisation of American States (OAS), headed by Uruguay's ex-president Tabare Vazquez. However, they considered the cases not sufficient to distort the overall result, and described the election by and large as "successful".</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Dominican election in dispute after apparent win SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic (AP) — A governing party official appeared to have scored a first-round win in the Dominican Republic's presidential election but supporters of his main opponent complained of vote-buying and other forms of fraud and said they would challenge the results. Danilo Medina of the current president's Dominican Liberation Party received just over 51 percent of Sunday's vote with 83 percent of the ballots counted, according to the Caribbean country's Electoral Commission. His main rival, former President Hipolito Mejia of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, had nearly 47 percent. The winner needed more than 50 percent to avoid a runoff. Medina said he was confident he would win, but that the Electoral Commission would keep scrutinizing ballots through the night. He thanked a crowd of supporters and sent them home. "We will celebrate in a big way tomorrow," he said. Mejia did not concede and questioned the results as did others in his party. Luis Abinader, his vice presidential candidate, said the Dominican Revolutionary Party would present a report detailing irregularities on Monday. "We are going to defend democracy," Abinader said. "We are going to show the country what really has happened today." Mejia's representative on the Electoral Commission accused the ruling party of fraud, saying the former president should have received many more votes than the results reflected. "We all know what party the director of the Electoral Commission belongs to," he said at a news conference. The balloting appeared orderly in general but there were widespread reports that backers of both parties were offering people payments of about \$15 to vote for their candidate or to turn over their voting cards and withhold their vote. Campaign officials denied the allegations.</p>
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Until 1994 nothing in the constitution prohibited a president from seeking reelection. Balaguer was reelected in 1970 and in 1974; following defeats in 1978 and 1982, he was elected again to the presidency in 1986. He was reelected in 1990 and again in 1994. Well-documented allegations of fraud, however, led to international pressure and an internal political crisis that was finally resolved by negotiation and constitutional reform: Balaguer's presidential term was shortened to two years, and the constitution was amended to prohibit immediate presidential reelection. The 1994 reform also introduced a mandatory second round among the top two vote getters in presidential elections if no candidate received a majority of the votes cast in the first round. [p. 173]

Elections in the Dominican Republic historically have been highly problematic and crisis-ridden. Opposition parties have usually questioned the use and abuse of state resources by the governing party. And the campaign period leading up to election day has often been marked by widespread distrust, allegations of fraud, and violence associated with campaign events. In recent years, as a consequence of fraud and protest, particularly in the 1990 and 1994 elections, important modifications in the electoral law have been made.

At the center of the problem with elections has been doubts about the objectivity, capability and autonomy of the country's Central Electoral Board (Junta Central Electoral—JCE), which, along with its subsidiary municipal boards, is responsible for overseeing elections. These agencies combine administrative, regulatory, and judicial functions. The JCE is responsible for managing the voter registry list, regulating the campaign and administering the elections; it is also the unappealable arbiter of all disputes related to elections, with complaints being heard in the first instance by municipal electoral boards. The autonomy and credibility of the JCE have been affected by a number of factors. Its judges are named by the Senate (or by the president if the Senate is not in session and does not subsequently act) for terms that can be coterminous with each electoral period; partisan political criteria often have been uppermost. In a number of elections, an imperfect alternative to a strong JCE was the use of ad-hoc mediating and ^{^ii}Doort commissions or international observers or mediators.

As a consequence of the 1990 electoral crisis, an electoral law was passed in 1992 that instituted a number of reforms. ■v:- [SEP]aw provided the JCE with greater legal budgetary independence. It also provided that henceforth Dominican citizens would receive a single card that would serve both as an identity card and an electoral card: prior to this law. The JCE shared responsibility with the executive branch for the management of the offices that provided the personal identification cards that citizens had to present along with electoral cards distributed by the JCE in order to vote. Naturally, this enhanced fears by opposition parties that the emission of identity cards could be manipulated to favor the government party. Like much of the rest of the state, the JCE has also paid woefully low salaries, a situation that has improved somewhat since 1996.

As a consequence of the 1992 law. Building up to the 1994 elections the JCE leadership was expanded from three to five judges—three chosen by the governing PRSC party and two by opposition parties. The JCE also issued a new national and electoral identity card and prepared a new electoral roll, which ended up being flawed and at the center of significant fraud in the elections carried out that year. Thus, the JCE remained an institutionally weak, politicized institution. For the 1996 elections, rather than choosing JCE judges with partisan criteria paramount, independent figures were named, who remained in place for the 1998 elections. Both these elections were relatively trouble free. However, partisan criteria again played a hand when JCE judges were chosen to oversee the presidential election of the year 2000. In August 1998. The PRD-dominated Senate named all five of the JCE judges without consultation with the opposition parties. This action once again made the composition of the JCE an issue of serious contention among the country's major political parties. Finally. After extensive negotiations, in June 1999 the Senate named two additional JCE judges, one identified with the PLD and the other with the PRSC.

The electoral law of 1997 (Law 275-97) mandated a number of important changes in electoral procedures. In addition to requiring public funding of political parties, the law instituted a 25 percent quota for female candidates. The requirement helped improve female representation in the Chamber of Deputies. Which went from 8.6 percent female representation in 1994 to 16.1 percent in 1998, and in the municipal councils, which went from 14.7 percent female representation in 1994 to 26.5 percent in 1998. The law also called for the creation of electoral subdistricts of three to four representatives each in large multimember provinces such as Santo Domingo and Santiago, to begin in 2002. Furthermore, the 1997 law permits Dominicans abroad to vote in presidential elections, beginning in the year 2000.

Hartlyn, Jonathan . 2001. "Dominican Republic: Government and Politics." *Dominican Republic and Haiti: country studies*. Edited by Helen Chapin Metz. Washington D.C: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress/Department of the Army.

Ecuador 1979-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Ecuador 1979	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Roldos was elected with the biggest amount of votes in the history of Ecuador. It was thought that the military would not give the power to Roldos, but there was not any attempt to discredit his victory.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 29 de abril de 1979 <i>Winner:</i> Jaime Roldós, Concentración de Fuerzas Populares (CFP) y Democracia Popular (DP). <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Sixto Durán Ballén - Frente Constitucionalista (Partido Social Cristiano/Partido Conservador, Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario, Federación Nacional Velasquista, Coalición Institucionalista Demócrata, Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana)</p> <p>Las elecciones presidenciales de Ecuador de 1978-79 constó de dos vueltas electorales, realizadas el domingo 16 de julio de 1978 y domingo 29 de abril de 1979. Resulto vencedor Jaime Roldós con el 68.49% de los votos, como candidato de la alianza entre Concentración de Fuerzas Populares (CFP) y Democracia Popular (DP).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Sancionada la nueva Carta Política mediante referendun, y las leyes de elecciones y partidos politicos por simple decreto dictatorial, fue convocado el pueblo a sufragio general el 16 de Julio de 1978. Proliferaron los partidos y las candidaturas, pero resultaron triunfantes Jaime Roídos, propuesto por la cfp en alianza con la Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana; y Sixto Durán-Ballén, del Partido Social Cristiano en alianza con el Conservadurismo. Tras variadas incidencias tendientes a hacer fracasar las elecciones, la segunda vuelta fue convocada para el 29 de abril de 1979. De los dos candidatos presidenciales triunfantes en la primera vuelta resultó finalmente vencedor el joven abogado guayaquileño Jaime Roídos Aguilera, con 1025148 votos frente a 471 657 de su oponente, arquitecto Sixto Durán-Ballén. Con esta consulta al electorado se puso fin a la década de dictaduras iniciada por Velasco Ibarra en 1970, y al largo periodo de 17 años de militarismo institucionalizado que comenzó en 1962.</p> <p>“La fuerza del cambio” fue el lema inteligentemente adoptado por Roídos durante su campaña, pues se beneficiaba de la propaganda ya hecha para el “cambio” de la “vieja” constitución de 1945 por la “nueva”, que resultó triunfante. Estuvo a su lado, como candidato a la vicepresidencia, el cofundador de la democracia Cristiana doctor Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea de 40 años. Los triunfadores se posesionaron de su cargos el 10 de agosto de 1979 en medio de una ola de optimismo que animaba a todo el país ante el inesperado triunfo de los dos jóvenes politicos, que no solamente significaban un cambio generacional en el manejo de la cosa pública, sino nuevas concepciones</p>

			<p>políticas, pues Roldós encarnaba el cefepismo populista que durante 40 años venía pugnando por captar el poder con su lema “pueblo contra trincas”, y Hurtado era el mentor de la recién surgida democracia popular que, si bien ya vieja de casi medio siglo en Europa, era todavía novedad en Iberoamérica, donde solamente en Venezuela, con el copei y el doctor Rafael Caldera, y en Chile, con Eduardo Frei, había llegado al poder. [p. 545]</p> <p>Lara, Jorge Salvador. 2000. <i>Breve Historia contemporánea del Ecuador</i>. México: FCE.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Juárez, María Victoria y Xiomara Navas. 1993. “Ecuador.” Nohlen, Dieter. <i>Enciclopedia Electoral Latinoamericana y del Caribe</i>. San José de Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos. http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/5/2052/16.pdf</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>El abogado Jaime Roldós, socialdemócrata, vencedor en las elecciones presidenciales de Ecuador Su victoria acaba con nueve años de Gobiernos militares ÁNGEL LUIS DE LA CALLE Caracas 1 MAY 1979 El abogado Jaime Roldós Aguilera, de 38 años, de ideología socialdemócrata, triunfó arrolladoramente en las elecciones presidenciales celebradas el domingo en Ecuador, acabando con nueve años de Gobierno militar en el país. Con millón y medio de votos escrutados, el 70% del censo -electoral, Roldós había obtenido 891.116 votos (62,22%), y su principal contrincante, el derechista Sixto Durán, había logrado 394.068 votos (el 27,47%). Roldós era el candidato de la Concentración de Fuerzas Populares (CFP), populista, y fue a la elección aliado con la Democracia Cristiana. [...] La ausencia de incidentes durante la celebración de las votaciones es aún más sorprendente si se tiene en cuenta que los últimos días de la campaña electoral habían estado marcados por serios enfrentamientos entre partidarios de los dos candidatos más calificados para aspirar a la presidencia. A este ambiente de tensión contribuyeron en gran medida los permanentes rumores de golpe de Estado que circularon profusamente por el país. Para muchos ecuatorianos, y también para muchos analistas extranjeros, era casi un artículo de fe el que los militares no entregarían el poder a Jaime Roldós. Los hechos parecen demostrar que estas apreciaciones eran equivocadas o exageradas: las</p>
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			<p>noticias de que se disponen indican que no ha habido el más mínimo intento por desvirtuar la voluntad popular. Jaime Roldós se convertirá el próximo 10 de agosto en el primer presidente civil de Ecuador en siete años. [...] Si nada altera los iniciales resultados, Ecuador será el primer país latinoamericano que retorna pacíficamente a la vía democrática después de Gobiernos militares. Bolivia y Perú se aprestan a seguir el ejemplo ecuatoriano en los próximos meses. La tendencia de Ecuador será, con toda seguridad, muy estudiada por los gobernantes de esos países vecinos.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1979/05/01/internacional/294357601_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Roldos quiere nacionalizar el sector energético Quito 1 (EFE) Jaime Roldos ha sido el presidente del Ecuador que más votos haya tenido jamás en la historia del país y su arrolladora popularidad ha sobrepasado la del difunto presidente José María velasco Ibarra, cinco veces elegido. En las elecciones del domingo, Roldós logró 995,845 votos de un total de 1,611,190 votos contados. Velasco Ibarra en las elecciones de 1968 logró 280,350 votos de un total de 853,474.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1979/05/02/038.html</p>
<p>Ecuador 1984</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>There are no reports of the loser challenging the result. Elections were peaceful. The military expressed its support for the democratic system, and for the elected president.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 6 May, 1984 <i>Winner:</i> León Febres Cordero, Frente de Reconstrucción Nacional (Partido Social Cristiano, Partido Conservador Ecuatoriano, Partido Liberal Radical Ecuatoriano, Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario, Coalición Institucionalista Demócrata, Federación Nacional Velasquista) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Rodrigo Borja Cevallos - Izquierda Democrática, Pueblo, Cambio y Democracia</p> <p>General elections were held in Ecuador on 29 January 1984, with a second round of the presidential elections on 6 May.[1] After finishing second in the first round, León Febres Cordero of the Social Christian Party won the run-off with 51.5% of the vote.[2] The Democratic Left emerged as the largest faction in the House of Representatives, winning 24 of the 69 seats.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El ingeniero León Febres Cordero —graduado de mecánico industrial en los Estados Unidos y administrador general de los negocios del acaudalado empresario Luis Noboa Naranjo, el más poderoso agroexportador del país— triunfó en las elecciones sobre su rival doctor Rodrigo Borja</p>

			<p>Cevallos, líder de la Izquierda Democrática, partido que introdujo la socialdemocracia en el Ecuador, quien ganó en la primera vuelta. Febres Cordero se hizo cargo del poder en nombre del Partido Social Cristiano, fundado por Ponce Enríquez, a quien sin embargo había combatido. Conocido más bien como independiente, partidario de la libre empresa capitalista aunque con ciertos ribetes de izquierda, su reciente afiliación al socialcristianismo en 1978, ajena a principios doctrinarios, se produjo exclusivamente para poder participar en política, ya que la nueva Constitución estableció el régimen de partidos y prohibió las candidaturas de los independientes. Auspiciado por el Partido Social Cristiano, el Conservador devenido en simple apéndice logrero, pero además por sectores vinculados a las cámaras de la protas deseosos de nuevo líder, e independientes en generas deseosos de nuevo líder, e independientes en general, Febres Cordero logró organizar un conglomerado electoral de amplio espectro denominado Frente de Reconstrucción Nacional y en la lucha por la conquista del sufragio, organizada a semejanza de las velasquistas, ofreció “pan, techo y empleo”. La campaña electoral, de la que resultó triunfante en la segunda vuelta, se realizó mediante sorprendente gasto de recursos —hasi entonces sin paralelo en la historia del sufragio ecuatoriano—, aportados por poderosos núcleos oligárquicos al parecer constituidos en verdadera empresa electorera, ávidos de cobrar dividendos.</p> <p>En solemne ceremonia realizada en el Congreso Nacional, Hurtado entregó el mando haciendo constar que dejaba el poder con un sistema democrático fortalecido, una economía en plena recuperación y avances importantes en lo social. El nuevo presidente, en cambio, dijo que terminaba el peor gobierno de la historia nacional, pues había destruido totalmente al país. Los partidarios del nuevo régimen, al salir el ex presidente Hurtado del Palacio del Congreso, le colmarón de improperios.</p> <p>Lara, Jorge Salvador. 2000. <i>Breve Historia contemporánea del Ecuador</i>. México: FCE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Respaldo militar al nuevo presidente Guayaquil. Julio Villagrán.</p> <p>El ingeniero León Favres Cordero Rivadeneira ganó oficialmente las lecciones con una venataja de 150,000 votos a su oponente Rodrigo Borja Cevallos. Febres Cordero se convirtió así en el trigésimo cuarto madtario de la República de Ecuador. León Febres Cordero estuvo auspiciado por el Frente de Reconstrucción Nacional, integrado por los Partidos Social Cristiano, el Partido Conservador, el Partido Liberal, el Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario, la Coalición Institucionalista Demócrata, el Partido Velasquista y el Frente de Independientes.</p> <p>[...] Las elecciones se han llevado a cabo en todo el país en armonía y paz. Una red de emisoras dio a conocer junto a la television los cómputos de este acto cívico, al igual que la Prensa escrita. [...]</p>
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			<p>Las fuerzas armadas han tenido una destacada intervención en lo que se refiere al control de la seguridad y a pureza de los comicios. El general Jorge Arciniegas, ministro de Defensa Nacional, manifestó que la postura de las Fuerzas Armadas es de defensa del sistema democrático, una vez que el país tenga presidente electo. El comandante general del Ejército, general Gibrardo Miño, dijo que las elecciones llevaron al pueblo ecuatoriano, con una profunda vocación democrática, a elegir presidente de la República, que tendrá el respaldo del Ejército, una vez que el 10 de agosto sera el comandante en jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1984/05/09/037.html</p> <p>Party competition in the 1980s was mainly between the PSC (Christian Social Party) and the ID (Democratic Left). Many blamed the heightened interparty friction on Febres Cordero, the PSC leader who won the presidency by polling 52.2 percent in the second round of voting in May 1984. Febres Cordero narrowly defeated Borja, who polled 47.8 percent as the ID candidate. Febres Cordero's conservative National Reconstruction Front (Frente de Reconstrucción Nacional--FRN) coalition consisted of seven parties, including the traditional PC and PLR. The FRN held only twenty-nine of the seventy-one seats in Congress, however, and the opposition effectively controlled the remaining forty-two. The resulting political infighting threatened the stability of the country's fragile democracy on several occasions.</p> <p>Febres Cordero promised an honest public administration and a revival of market principles in managing the economy. Nevertheless, his government suffered from a succession of political and economic crises. Ruling more in the style of a caudillo than an elected politician, Febres Cordero used his executive powers boldly, creating a number of constitutional conflicts with the other two branches of government.</p> <p>http://www.mongabay.com/reference/country_studies/ecuador/GOVERNMENT.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>En las elecciones de 1984, encabezaron los resultados de la primera vuelta Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, de la Izquierda Democrática, con el 29% y León Febres Cordero, del Partido Social Cristiano, con 27%. Borja era un catedrático universitario y político profesional que lideraba al partido Izquierda Democrática, filial de la Internacional Socialista. León Febres Cordero era un empresario y líder carismático postulado por el Partido Social Cristiano que hizo una campaña de marcado tinte ideológico derechista.</p> <p>En la segunda vuelta electoral Febres Cordero convirtió su ajustada derrota en una ajustada victoria: obtuvo el 51% de los votos frente a un 48% de Borja. Ésta fue la única elección del período democrático en que los ecuatorianos tuvieron que optar entre dos candidatos que representaban</p>
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Ecuador 1988	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Borja won by a wide margin and Bucaram conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> May 8, 1988 <i>Winner:</i> Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, Izquierda Democrática <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Abdalá Bucaram - Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano</p> <p>General elections were held in Ecuador on 31 January 1988, with a second round of the presidential elections on 8 May.[1] Rodrigo Borja Cevallos of the Democratic Left won the presidential elections, receiving 54% of the vote in the second round,[2] whilst the Democratic Left remained the largest faction in the House of Representatives, winning 31 of the 72 seats.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>En las elecciones de 1988, Rodrigo Borja encabezó nuevamente la primera vuelta con 25%, seguido de Abdalá Bucaram con el 18%. El pueblo ecuatoriano presenció el enfrentamiento entre un candidato que tenía la clásica imagen del estadista, Rodrigo Borja, y otro que representaba nítidamente una forma de hacer política desde fuera de la política, Abdalá Bucaram. Los recursos propagandísticos de Abdalá fueron poco convencionales: lanzarse desde las tarimas sobre las multitudes, afirmar que era Batman, cantar canciones con letras que divertían a amplios sectores populares y causaban pánico entre quienes tenían una visión más convencional de la política. En la segunda vuelta los votantes reaccionaron con miedo frente a Bucaram y prefirieron a Borja por una amplia mayoría. Borja obtuvo el 54% de los votos y Bucaram el 46%.</p> <p>Durán Barba, Jaime. 1998. "El triunfo de un nuevo caudillo." <i>Elecciones y democracia en América Latina 1992-1996: urnas y desencanto político</i>. Juan Rial y Daniel Zovatto, editores. San José, Costa Rica: IIDH-CAPEL.</p> <p>http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/4/1990/20.pdf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Man in the News; Ecuadorean With Elan: Rodrigo Borja Cevallos By ALAN RIDING, Special to the New York Times</p>

			<p>Published: May 10, 1988</p> <p>When support seemed to grow for his noisy and charismatic challenger in the days preceding Sunday's runoff election here, it suddenly became fashionable to describe Rodrigo Borja Cevallos as a perennial political loser. After all, the 52-year-old Social Democrat fared poorly in the 1979 elections and was narrowly beaten by President Leon Febres Cordero in 1984. And although this time he was the acknowledged front-runner, Mr. Borja began to look vulnerable to the earthy campaign of Abdala Bucaram Ortiz.</p> <p>The wide margin of Mr. Borja's victory Sunday - he took 46.3 percent of the vote against 41.3 percent for Mr. Bucaram, with 12.4 percent of the ballots annulled or blank - was as much a tribute to his steady nerves as it was to his party's pledge to improve the lot of the poor.</p> <p>Under constant personal attack from Mr. Bucaram during the campaign, Mr. Borja did at one point join the fray by exchanging insults. But by election day, he found that his strength lay in showing himself to be sober and responsible and, above all, unwilling to make promises that he could not keep. 'Question of Responsibility'</p> <p>"If I had followed Bucaram's strategy of saying everything people want to hear, of promising to satisfy all their needs, I would have won twice as many votes," Mr. Borja said in an interview today. "It's all a question of responsibility."</p> <p>With his Democratic Left Party coming to power for the first time since its founding 18 years ago, the victory has raised expectations that will be difficult to fulfill. This tiny Andean nation of 10 million is caught in its worst economic crisis in half a century.</p> <p>Mr. Borja can expect to face strong private-sector opposition to his philosophy that the state should play a central role in the economy. Nonetheless, the local currency rose against the dollar today after losing almost half its value during the three-month campaign. Nation Needs Aid</p> <p>The President-elect insists that he will be pragmatic, giving priority to renegotiating Ecuador's \$10 billion foreign debt and accepting the idea of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund. But with Ecuador unable to meet interest payments on its debt, he has made it clear that his country needs help.</p> <p>"It is physically impossible for us to pay our debt," he said. "I'm not interested in a confrontation with our creditors, but we have to be realistic."</p> <p>Succeeding a President known for strong pro-American views, Mr. Borja stressed that his differences with Washington over United States policy in Central America and Panama should not be allowed to affect bilateral relations. "We want a cordial relationship," he said.</p> <p>Born into a middle-class Quito family on June 19, 1935, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos was better known to friends in his youth as an accomplished athlete than as a hard-working student. But while studying to become a lawyer, he was drawn into politics, and at 27 he was elected to Congress. A Turning Point</p>
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			<p>The turning point in his political career came in 1970, when he and a small group of young politicians founded the Democratic Left Party with the idea of building a non-Marxist party that offered social change. Two years later, a military coup led to a suspension of party activities, but the Democratic Left continued to build a network of support that would eventually turn it into Ecuador's largest party.</p> <p>After democracy returned in 1979, Mr. Borja was the party's presidential candidate. But it was only in 1984 that the Democratic Left felt confident that it was ready for power. Mr. Borja's unexpected defeat then was a major blow but, as the party's dominant figure, he easily won its nomination for this year's elections.</p> <p>Married to the former Carmen Calisto, with whom he has four teen-age children, Mr. Borja explained that the fierce campaign attacks on his honor came because Mr. Bucaram saw the President-elect's main virtues, in the eyes of the public, as his credibility and honesty. "That's the image he tried to destroy, and failed," Mr. Borja said.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1988/05/10/world/man-in-the-news-ecuadorean-with-elan-rodrigo-borja-cevallos.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Elevada participación en las presidenciales ecuatorianas Lunes 5 de mayo de 1988 Quito: Julio Villagran</p> <p>Ambos candidatos se han acusado de estar auspiciados por el Gobierno del presidente FeBres Cordero, entre otras cosas. De ahí que el comentario general sea el de que, "día tras día, se ha descendido al agraviopersonal, al ataque directo, el lenguaje agresivo y hasta grotesco... En lugar de exaltar cada candidato su propia personalidad o su futuro programa de Gobierno, se ha pretendido aniquilar al adversario, son detenerse ante ningún límite ético. Todo ello en perjuicio del país, ya que, con esa larga cadena de improprios se desprestigia el ejercicio de la primera magistratura y se menoscaba la credibilidad del mismo sistema democrático."</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1988/05/09/030.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>MARTES 10- 5- 88 INTERNACIONAL ABC 31 El socialdemócrata Rodrigo Borja, elegido nuevo presidente de Ecuador La gobernabilidad, asegurada por la mayoría parlamentaria Guayaquil. Julio Villagrán Rodrigo Borja, el que fuera fundador del Partido Izquierda Democrática del Ecuador, ha sido el claro vencedor de las elecciones presidenciales celebradas el pasado fin de semana. Con una participación mayor de la esperada, los ecuatorianos han elegido a este socialdemócrata de cincuenta y dos años para sustituir al conservador León Febres Cordero en la presidencia de la</p>
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			<p>República. El próximo 10 de agosto asumirá sus funciones. La batalla electoral estaba planteada con el populista Abdalá Bucaram, que pierde por tercera vez la posibilidad de alcanzar la presidencia, en esta ocasión, a bastante distancia de su rival. Bucaram ha reconocido ya su fracaso aunque no piensa, según ha manifestado, retirarse por ello de la política activa. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1988/05/10/031.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ecuador Presidential Race Won by Social Democrat May 09, 1988 JAMES F. SMITH Times Staff Writer QUITO, Ecuador — Rodrigo Borja, a soft-spoken left-of-center intellectual, won a convincing victory in Ecuador's presidential election Sunday, defeating feisty populist Abdala Bucaram in a race characterized more by its crude language than quality in political debate.</p> <p>Borja won 1,762,588 votes to Bucaram's 1,572,481, a margin of nearly 200,000 votes, with all but a handful of votes counted, unofficial returns compiled by the nation's commercial television networks. http://articles.latimes.com/1988-05-09/news/mn-1747_1_social-democrat</p>
<p>Ecuador 1992</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Two hours after polling stations closed, Mr. Duran Bellen's opponent, Jaime Nebot Saadi, conceded defeat in his home in Guayaquil.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 5 de julio de 1992 (segunda vuelta) <i>Winner:</i> Sixto Duran Ballen - Partido Unidad Republicana/Partido Conservador Ecuatoriano <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jaime Nebot - Partido Social Cristiano</p> <p>General elections were held in Ecuador on 17 May 1992, with a second round of the presidential elections on 5 July.[1] The presidential elections resulted in a victory for Sixto Durán Ballén of the Republican Union Party–Conservative Party alliance, who received 57.3% of the vote in the run-off.[2] The Social Christian Party emerged as the largest party in the House of Representatives, winning 21 of the 77 seats.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>U.S.-Trained Conservative Is Elected Ecuador President By JAMES BROOKE Published: July 06, 1992 Correction Appended An American-trained advocate of free market economic change was elected President of this oil-producing nation today, projections from two unofficial counts of the vote indicated. With 97</p>

			<p>percent of the ballots counted unofficially, Sixto Duran Bellen had a 13 percentage-point margin, according to tallies by local news organizations.</p> <p>"It's a harvest of a whole life, of 40 years of public service," the winning candidate, a courtly 70-year-old architect, said minutes after learning that exit polls earlier indicated that he had swept 19 of Ecuador's 21 provinces in his quest to become the new leader of Ecuador, South America's largest oil exporter after Venezuela.</p> <p>The unofficial methods of gauging the results proved accurate in the first round of the voting, on May 17, which narrowed the field of candidates to the top two vote-getters. The official count of today's voting is expected to take several weeks.</p> <p>Two hours after polling stations closed, Mr. Duran Bellen's opponent, Jaime Nebot Saadi, a 45-year-old lawyer, conceded defeat in his home in Guayaquil, Ecuador's main port. Mr. Nebot also advocated free-market policies.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Durán Ballén gana las elecciones presidenciales en Ecuador AGENCIAS Quito 6 JUL 1992 El conservador Sixto Durán Ballén, arquitecto, de 70 años, ganó ayer las elecciones presidenciales ecuatorianas, según los primeros datos extraoficiales dados a conocer por los medios informativos nacionales. Durán Ballén, del Partido de la Unidad Republicana, gobernará desde el próximo 10 de agosto hasta la misma fecha de 1996.</p> <p>Los resultados difundidos por las cadenas de televisión y radio, basados en encuestas realizadas los votantes, otorgaron a Durán Ballén entre 10 y 19 puntos por encima de su rival, el también conservador Jaime Nebot Saadi, del Partido Social Cristiano. La cadena de televisión Gamavisión otorgó a Durán Ballén la ventaja más amplia: 59,4% frente a un 40,6% de Nebot. Unos 25.000 soldados y policías fueron movilizados en Ecuador para asegurar el orden en la jornada electoral. No se registró ningún incidente.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1992/07/06/internacional/710373605_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>LUNES 6- 7- 92 INTERNACIONAL Iberoamérica ABC 41 CostaCruceiros VERANO 9 2 Ecuador Duran se perfila como nuevo presidente, de acuerdo con los sondeos a pie de urna Baja participación en unos comicios presidenciales sin incidentes Guayaquil. Julio Villagrán Agencias Según los primeros resultados extraoficiales, Sixto Duran Bailen Córdovez, de 70 años, ganó ayer las elecciones presidenciales ecuatorianas, celebradas para elegir al cuarto presidente desde que el país retomó la senda constitucional en 1979, entre dos candidatos conservadores: el virtual vencedor, Sixto Duran, del Partido Unidad Republicana (PUR) y Jaime Nebot Saadi, de cuarenta y cinco años, del Partido Social Cristiano (PSC) De confirmarse oficialmente estos resulta- nombre</p>
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			<p>del ganador, de acuerdo con las endos, Sixto Duran gobernará desde el próximo cuartos que se efectuaron a la salida de los 10 de agosto hasta la misma fecha de 1996. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1992/07/06/041.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>MARTES 7- 7- 92 INTERNACIONAL Iberoamérica ISLAS GALÁPAGOS ARCHIPIÉLAGO DE COLON) (E C U A D O R) o Mtrchena f ABC 41 Ecuador El presidente electo anuncia la formación de un Gobierno de unidad nacional Duran, de origen norteamericano, obtuvo el 51 por 100 de los votos Guayaquil. Julio Viliagrán Agencias El conservador Sixto Duran Bailen, nuevo presidente electo de Ecuador tras su triunfo del domingo en la segunda vuelta de las elecciones, en las que obtuvo la mayoría con el 70 por 100 escrutado al cierre de esta edición, anunció que buscará formar un Gobierno de unidad nacional con personalidades no exclusivamente de su partido ni del Partido Conservador Ecuatoriano (PCE) con el que formó alianza para estas elecciones. Duran Bailen, un arquitecto de 70 años y miembro del Partido Unidad Republicana (PUR) asumirá la Presidencia el próximo 10 de agosto. Su rival, el también conservador Jaime Nebot Sadi, de 45 años, obtuvo una votación superior a los 1.5 millones de sufragios (38 por 100), levemente superior al número de personas que no acudió a depositar su voto, pese a estar obligados a ello. Nebot deseó “la mejor de las suertes” al ganador y dijo no sentirse derrotado, sino que se había convertido en un nuevo líder nacional. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1992/07/07/041.html</p>
<p>Ecuador 1996</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The rightist Christian Democratic candidate, Jaime Nebot, conceded defeat tonight in Ecuador's runoff presidential election to a populist, Abdala Bucaram.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 7 de julio de 1996 <i>Winner:</i> Abdalá Bucaram - Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano/Movimiento Independiente para una República Auténtica <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jaime Nebot - Partido Social Cristiano</p> <p>General elections were held in Ecuador on 19 May 1996, with a second round of the presidential elections on 7 July.[1] Although Jaime Nebot of the Social Christian Party received the most votes in the first round, Abdalá Bucaram of the Ecuadorian Roldosist Party won the run-off with 54.5% of the vote.[2] The Social Christian Party remained the largest in the Chamber of Deputies, winning 27 of the 82 seats.[3] Until the 2013 vote, this was the last election held after the natural expiration of a presidential term due to the political instability that plagued Ecuador from Bucaram's sacking in late 1997 until Rafael Correa's inauguration in late 2007.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p>World News Briefs; Right-Winger Concedes Defeat in Ecuador Reuters Published: July 08, 1996 The rightist Christian Democratic candidate, Jaime Nebot, conceded defeat tonight in Ecuador's runoff presidential election to a populist, Abdala Bucaram. Mr, Bucaram, of the center-left Roldosista Party, struck a sympathetic chord with the nation's poor. We will be a constructive opposition to the new government," Mr. Nebot told followers in Guayaquil. The Opcion 96 group conducting exit polling projected Bucaram was ahead with 54.1 percent against 45.9 percent for Mr. Nebot.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>LUNES 8- 7- 96 INTERNACIONAL ABC Pág. 37 Las encuestas extraoficiales dan el triunfo a Bucaram en las presidenciales ecuatorianas El candidato socialcristiano, Jaime Nebot, reconce su derrota frente a su opositor Los cien observadores internacionales calificaron de limpias las elecciones. Abdalá Bucaram podría convertirse en el próximo presidente de Ecuador si se confirman las primeras estimaciones a pie de urna que le daban cinco puntos por encima de su rival, Jaime Nebot. Ante observadores de organismos internacionales y bajo estrictas medidas de seguridad, los ciu El propio Jaime Nebot reconoció esta madrugada el triunfo de su rival, a pesar de que aún no se han dado a conocer los resultados oficiales.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1996/07/08/037.html</p>
Ecuador 1998	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1	The loser in Ecuador's presidential election, the business tycoon Alvaro Noboa, has alleged fraud and demanded a recount of all the votes. He called his supporters to protest outside the Electoral Tribunal.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 12 de julio de 1998 (Segunda vuelta) <i>Winner:</i> Jamil Mahuad - Democracia Popular <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Álvaro Noboa - Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano/Acción Popular Revolucionaria Ecuatoriana/Unión Popular Latinoamericana/Concentracion de Fuerzas Populares</p> <p>General elections were held in Ecuador on 31 May 1998, with a second round of the presidential elections on 12 July.[1] The result was a victory for Jamil Mahuad of the DP–UDC alliance, who won the run-off with 51.2% of the vote.[2] The DP–UDC alliance also emerged as the largest party in the National Congress, winning 32 of the 120 seats.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p>Winner of Ecuadorean Vote Still Not Clear July 14, 1998 Associated Press QUITO, Ecuador — Deprived of an undisputed victor in presidential elections, Ecuadoreans waited anxiously Monday for official results of a contest pitting a U.S.-educated politician against a banana tycoon. Both candidates in Sunday's race claimed victory. Official results are not expected until Wednesday in the contest between Harvard graduate Jamil Mahuad, the mayor of Quito, and businessman Alvaro Noboa. http://articles.latimes.com/1998/jul/14/news/mn-3642</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Lunes 13 de julio de 1998 Publicado en edición impresa Derrotó por estrecho margen al candidato populista Mahuad triunfó en las elecciones presidenciales de Ecuador Por Javier Navia LA NACION</p> <p>QUITO-. En Ecuador no hubo sorpresas. Ganó el que tenía que ganar: Jamil Mahuad. Pero no le sobró nada. Con el 51,2 por ciento de los votos superó por 2,4 puntos a Alvaro Noboa (48,8) y se convertirá en el próximo presidente. Su victoria no sorprende, pero el margen que lo separa de Noboa -mucho menor al esperado- convertirán a Mahuad en un presidente electo que llegará al poder sin el suficiente consenso popular que las decisiones políticas y económicas, que deberá adoptar para sacar al país de la peor crisis de los últimos cincuenta años, le demandarán. Para Noboa, que también reclamó el triunfo, será una digna derrota. Si cumple con su palabra, regresará ahora a la vida empresarial. Pero para su movimiento político, el Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE), a 17 meses de la destitución de Abdalá Bucaram, se trata de una resurrección. El 10 de agosto se pondrá fin al interinato de Fabián Alarcón, que no supo o no pudo lograr ninguno de los objetivos que se trazó. Ni la corrupción desapareció ni la economía se reactivó. Por más que el presidente haya afirmado ayer, mientras votaba, que "entregaba un país en marcha", Ecuador ha conocido durante su gobierno el período político y social más turbulento de los últimos tiempos.</p> <p>NOBOA, OBCECADO</p> <p>En cambio, pese a los datos aportados por las encuestas en boca de urna, Noboa sorprendió al presentarse ante la prensa y sus simpatizantes y anunciar: "Hoy perdió Brasil. Hoy perdió Mahuad". El candidato populista afirmó haber obtenido el 43 por ciento de los votos contra el 40 por ciento de Mahuad, según sus propias encuestas. "Le quiero agradecer a Dios y a todo el Ecuador por esta victoria espectacular", agregó y a continuación rezó un Padrenuestro "junto con todo el país, para que no nos hagan fraude".</p>
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			<p>Noboa aseguró que sus resultados eran los reales y no los anunciados por la televisión, e indicó que concurriría hasta el Tribunal Electoral "a defender voto por voto" sus encuestas. Sin embargo, salvo sus partidarios, nadie ha tomado demasiado en serio estos dichos. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/103318-mahuad-triunfo-en-las-elecciones-presidenciales-de-ecuador</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Martes 14 de julio de 1998 Publicado en edición impresa Elecciones presidenciales en Ecuador Con acusaciones de fraude, Noboa no reconoce su derrota Por Javier Navia LA NACION QUITO.- Mientras todo Ecuador aguarda que el tribunal electoral expida el resultado oficial de los comicios del domingo, el clima se enrareció en medio de acusaciones cruzadas de fraude y la creciente tensión, que ya ha derivado en actos de violencia.</p> <p>Según las últimas proyecciones, el candidato de la Democracia Popular (DP), Jamil Mahuad, obtuvo el 51,3% de los votos, frente al 48,7 de Alvaro Noboa, del Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE).</p> <p>Todos los analistas señalan a Mahuad como el ganador por un muy estrecho margen. El jefe de la misión de observadores de la OEA, el brasileño Edgardo Costa Reis, aseguró a La Nación que "el proceso electoral se realizó con bastante organización, tranquilidad y sin ninguna irregularidad". Sin embargo, Noboa se declaró vencedor por tres puntos.</p> <p>Similar actitud asumió Mahuad, que ayer afirmó que con la cantidad de votos escrutados "es matemáticamente imposible que Noboa revierta la tendencia", que lo da a él como triunfador.</p> <p>En diálogo con La Nación , Mahuad, virtual presidente electo, atribuyó su ajustada victoria "única y exclusivamente a la medida tomada por el gobierno de quitar el subsidio al gas".</p> <p>- ¿Cree que eso fue todo? ¿No reconoce algún error propio en la campaña? -Todos cometemos errores. Tal vez el mayor error es no habernos despegado lo suficiente de la medida del gas, que nuestro rival, reconozco, ha sabido utilizar muy bien en su favor.</p> <p>-¿Una semana más de campaña y ganaba Noboa? -Y una semana menos y ganábamos nosotros con el quince por ciento.</p> <p>-¿Teme que una victoria tan ajustada pueda derivar en una crisis de gobernabilidad?</p>
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		<p>-Pienso que no. Porque es un mandato legítimo y con una buena base. La elección de Noboa fue, más bien, en contra del actual gobierno. Habría sido mucho mejor tener una mayoría más grande, pero no creo que la diferencia tenga efectos reales. Mahuad no tuvo aún contacto con el presidente provisional, Fabián Alarcón, para ultimar los detalles de la transición.</p> <p>-¿Cuáles serán sus primeras medidas como presidente? -Yo creo que son áreas las que debemos enfrentar. Un tema fundamental es el problema territorial con el Perú, en el que necesitaremos definir rápidamente qué es lo que vamos a hacer. Otro tema es lo económico, y un tercero es lo social, arrancando ya con proyectos de educación y de salud. Mantendremos reuniones de trabajo para definir en qué orden y en qué momento hacemos cada cosa.</p> <p>Por su parte, Noboa exigió: "No nos hagan fraude", tras la difusión de los resultados extraoficiales, pero reales, que dan al candidato de la DP como ganador. "Mantengamos la vigilia ante el Tribunal Electoral", advirtió Noboa a sus simpatizantes, que en la madrugada de ayer protagonizaron graves incidentes con la policía en Guayaquil y Cuenca.</p> <p>MANEJO DE VOTOS La DP también señaló que su candidato fue víctima de la "manipulación del PRE". Según el partido ganador, el margen tan pequeño que separa a su candidato de Noboa fue probablemente causa "del manejo de votos del roldosismo", pero no presentará ninguna denuncia formal.</p> <p>Tampoco Noboa ha presentado aún una denuncia por escrito. Para el jefe de la misión de la OEA, ahora "la mayor preocupación es que no se cree un clima de tensión y violencia. Le he pedido a Noboa -declaró- que se respeten el marco constitucional y las leyes". Anteanoche, la policía debió dispersar con gases lacrimógenos a los simpatizantes de Noboa que pretendían ingresar en el Tribunal Electoral de Guayas, cuando estaba por iniciarse el escrutinio. Una de las granadas de gas utilizadas por las fuerzas de seguridad estalló cerca del rostro de Noboa, que calificó la represión policial como "una muestra de la dictadura de Jamil y Alarcón". Por su parte, Alarcón instó a "que sea aceptado el resultado de las urnas", en lo que puede interpretarse como un llamado al roldosismo a aceptar la derrota.</p> <p>DENUNCIAN INTERESES CREADOS</p>
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			<p>QUITO (De un enviado especial).- "Cualquier cantidad de boletas borradas, irregularidades en las actas, provincias donde en la primera vuelta hubo entre 6 y 8% de votos anulados, y ahora anularon el 25% de sufragios míos." Para Alvaro Noboa, si él no es ganador, "hubo fraude".</p> <p>En una conversación telefónica exclusiva, desde Guayaquil, con La Nación , afirmó ayer que presentará "las evidencias del fraude ante César Gaviria", secretario general de la OEA. Sin embargo, los observadores de esa organización aún no recibieron las denuncias del candidato populista.</p> <p>"Como yo sabía que había intereses creados -dijo-, realicé mi propio sondeo en boca de urna. De modo que hubo dos sondeos. El de la Asociación de Canales de Televisión y el realizado por mí".</p> <p>-¿Qué resultados daba su encuesta?</p> <p>-En la mía, yo salgo ganando con tres puntos de ventaja. En la otra, que la televisión anuncia al cierre de los comicios, yo perdía por ocho puntos. De repente, revisan la encuesta y declaran que la diferencia es de 2,5%. Por eso, me fui al Tribunal Electoral a contar los votos y a denunciar irregularidades.</p> <p>-Desde la semana última, usted ya hablaba de fraude.</p> <p>-Porque Mahuad es el candidato de la dictadura de Alarcón.</p> <p>-¿Dictadura?</p> <p>-Dictadura. Porque llegó al poder puesto por los psiquiatras que declararon la incapacidad mental de Bucaram. Hay dos maneras de hacer las cosas: una, a lo bruto. La otra, manteniendo las apariencias y la imagen de democracia, pero todos saben que éste es un gobierno de hecho. Alarcón quería que Mahuad cubriera sus espaldas.</p> <p>-¿A qué se refiere cuando habla de "intereses creados"?</p> <p>-El presidente del Tribunal Supremo Electoral salió el domingo a hacer campaña contra mí y tuvo el tupé de decir que era uno de los hombres más cercanos a Mahuad. En este país no ha ocurrido antes que un candidato con una experiencia política de 44 días haga una elección así. No me votaron por mi pinta. Esto es un rechazo a los políticos, sólo así se explica.</p> <p>- ¿Podría haber más incidentes si se confirma su derrota?</p> <p>-Si se confirma el fraude, habrá una total desesperanza y veo muy difícil el gobierno de Mahuad.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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		<p>los cuales veían con desconfianza el populismo de Noboa. La victoria de Mahuad fue tanto más resonante si se tiene en cuenta que los aspirantes de la DP-UDC en las anteriores convocatorias electorales, Vladimiro Álvarez en 1992 y Rodrigo Paz Delgado en 1996, sólo habían podido quedar en octava y cuarta posición, respectivamente.</p> <p>Con su toma de posesión el 10 de agosto de 1998 sucediendo al presidente interino Fabián Alarcón Rivera y con mandato hasta 2002, Mahuad cerró el año de provisionalidad abierto con la destitución por el Congreso del controvertido presidente Abdalá Bucaram, amigo y mentor político de Noboa, en cuya caída en febrero de 1997 él había participado activamente, siendo uno de los promotores de las protestas populares. Por otro lado, la asunción presidencial coincidió con la entrada en vigor de la nueva Constitución redactada por la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente.</p> <p>http://www.cidob.org/es/documentacio/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_del_sur/ecuador/jamil_mahuad_witt</p> <p style="text-align: right;">-0-</p> <p>México D.F. Jueves 21 de noviembre de 2002 Carlos Fernández-Vega El arte de hacer dinero Quehacer político y actividad empresarial Los elegidos de Dios; AL, de cabeza</p> <p>PERTENECER A LA PLUTOCRACIA latinoamericana y dignificar el arte de hacer dinero en cantidades industriales -siempre a costillas del país que los vio nacer- ya no satisface a muchos de los multimillonarios regionales.</p> <p>POR ELLO, ALGUNOS de sus integrantes han asumido el quehacer político como una extensión de su actividad empresarial, y los más selectos decidieron participar públicamente en ese ámbito, dejando atrás la vergonzante militancia de chequera y los "apoyos bajo el agua", que tantas utilidades generan a sus respectivos caudales.</p> <p>LAS ESCUALIDAS DEMOCRACIAS latinoamericanas ofrecen variados ejemplos de ello, uno de los cuales es el del empresario ecuatoriano Alvaro Noboa, magnate de las industrias platanera, naviera y de los bienes raíces, con una fortuna estimada en no menos de mil 500 millones de dólares, quien el próximo domingo, en segunda ronda electoral, buscará obtener la Presidencia de la República.</p>
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		<p>PARA EL EMPRESARIO, sin embargo, el del domingo no será un intento, porque, dice, "seré presidente. Soy el cambio postmoderno, liberal... No temo, porque estoy con Dios... Es lo que Dios y el pueblo ecuatoriano han resuelto... Yo sólo soy un simple escogido por el pueblo y un servidor de Cristo Jesús." (šššUff!!!)</p> <p>AMÉRICA LATINA, NI DUDA cabe, está de cabeza, como el Tribunal Supremo Electoral de Ecuador, que ha exhortado a la prensa de ese país a que rechacen la propaganda de Noboa, porque el candidato "se pasó en el gasto de campaña... Ha superado el límite determinado por la ley". No es para tanto, porque en ambas rondas sólo rebasó dicho tope en 100 por ciento. Lo anterior tiene razón de ser, porque -dice el empresario- "con la prensa, es preferible gastar el dinero y no el tiempo".</p> <p>EL PROXIMO DOMINGO, los ecuatorianos acudirán a las urnas en segunda vuelta, luego de que en la primera -20 de octubre- ninguno de los candidatos participantes logró la mayoría. El ganador de esta ronda sucederá, a partir del 15 de enero de 2003, al presidente Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, sin parentesco alguno con el empresario.</p> <p>ALVARO NOBOA ES un estuche de monerías: dueño de buena parte de Ecuador, en 1998 fue candidato a la presidencia de su país, postulado por el Partido Roldosista -el mismo que promovió a Abdalá Bucaram-, pero no llegó muy lejos y rompió con la agrupación. Como nadie le echó un lazo después de ese proceso electoral, sacó la chequera y fundó su propio "instituto político": el Partido Renovador Institucional Acción Nacional, PRIAN (juro que no es broma: así se llama), quien ahora, casualmente, lo postula.</p> <p>PROPIETARIO DE UNA de las empresas plataneras más poderosas del planeta, el empresario desfalcó a su propia familia, tras la muerte de su padre y varias disputas testamentarias con los demás herederos. Dueño del imperio, "ahora su amor por el poder lo empuja a buscar la presidencia de Ecuador", para lo cual "se gasta buena parte de su tiempo y fortuna", como lo señala un amplio perfil que sobre este personaje publica en su más reciente entrega la revista Poder, editada por Zoom Media Group (Miami), entre cuyos socios figuran Citigroup y Bank of America.</p> <p>SOBRE SU PARTICIPACION en las elecciones presidenciales de 1998, la publicación resume: "El 12 de julio, Alvaro Noboa organizó una fiesta en los patios de su empresa exportadora de banano. Vestido con unos pantalones vaqueros, una camisa amarillo intenso y una gran estampa del Corazón de Jesús colgada de su cuello, recibió a sus invitados, seguro del triunfo. Pero a las cinco de la tarde las cadenas de televisión anunciaron la victoria de su oponente Jamil Mahuad. El margen de</p>
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			<p>diferencia fue de cien mil votos, apenas uno por ciento del total de sufragios válidos. Reaccionó indignado: "El ganador soy yo; mis exit polls dicen que gané".</p> <p>DURANTE LOS 21 DIAS posteriores, "hasta que el Tribunal Electoral escrutó los votos, arengó a sus partidarios para vigilar el conteo, ocasionando varios incidentes violentos. Además, interpuso recursos legales e inició una campaña de prensa para probar el supuesto fraude. Sólo cuando el Tribunal Supremo entregó las credenciales a Jamil Mahuad suspendió la batalla. Pero no la guerra. En los años siguientes, mientras el gobierno de Mahuad se desmoronó por la quiebra de 70 por ciento del sistema financiero, Noboa permaneció en la retina de los futuros electores, sin recurrir a la política.</p> <p>http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2002/11/21/028a1eco.php?origen=index.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Monday, July 20, 1998 Published at 06:30 GMT 07:30 UK World: Americas</p> <p>Ecuador finally gets its president Mahuad has promised to tackle corruption Official results in Ecuador have declared the former mayor of Quito, Jamil Mahuad, as the winner of last week's presidential election. The country's Supreme Electoral Tribunal confirmed a narrow victory for Mr Mahuad, of the Popular Democratic Party, with just over 51% of the vote, ahead of the business tycoon Alvaro Noboa from the Roldosista party. Mr Noboa has repeated his charges that the vote was rigged against him. Mr Noboa is an ally of the former president, Abdala Bucaram, who was removed by the Ecuadorian congress in February last year on charges of corrupt and bizarre behaviour. The official results come a week after the poll, because the Tribunal would not declare the outcome until every vote had been examined. Noboa refuses to accept his opponent may have won fairly The formal result had originally been expected on Wednesday, but there were problems collecting a small number of ballots from one remote area. Mr Noboa also caused delays by asking unsuccessfully for a complete re-count. He also held celebration parties proclaiming his own triumph and has denounced Mr Mahuad's victory as fraudulent. The head of the electoral tribunal, Patricio Vivanco, has denied the allegations of electoral fraud and urged Mr Noboa not to incite violence.</p>
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<p>Ecuador 2002</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The overall results of the elections were not contested by any of the principal political actors. Noboa conceded defeat to Gutierrez in a speech following the announcement</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 24 de noviembre de 2002 (Segunda vuelta)</p> <p>Winner: Lucio Gutiérrez - PSP–MUPP–NP</p> <p>Runner-up candidate: Álvaro Noboa - Partido Renovador Institucional de Acción Nacional</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The essential result of the second round of the presidential election was clear within two hours after the voting was finished on 24 November. Both the rapid count and the official count proceeded with much greater speed and efficiency than during the first round.</p> <p>The final results of the presidential election were proclaimed on 3 December. Lucio Gutiérrez received 54.8% and Álvaro Noboa 45.2% of the valid votes. The number of invalid and blank votes combined was lower than during the first round, despite public calls by some of the main political figures for mass vote-spoiling. In gender terms, it is to be noted that among those who voted for Noboa, women were the majority, whereas the majority of Gutiérrez voters were, as in the first round, male.</p> <p>Official Complaints</p>

			<p>Although the overall results of the elections have not been contested by any of the principal political actors, legal provisions for official complaints to be made about particular issues were used by various parties before, during and after the 20 October elections. The clear margin between the two contenders during the second round of the presidential election was a major reason for the lack of any official complaints concerning the 24 November vote. Apart from the official complaints discussed in this section, there were various other minor disagreements that were resolved satisfactorily by the respective provincial electoral authorities.</p> <p>We will mostly use the generic term “complaints” to refer to impugnaciones, apelaciones and quejas, the three complaint categories defined within the Ecuadorian electoral law. The most controversial complaints before the elections concerned the decision of the TSE not to accept three presidential candidates because they had not collected enough signatures to back their candidacy. The issue was finally decided by the Constitutional Court, which ruled against the TSE that the candidacy of Antonio Vargas should be allowed to proceed (whereas those of the other two appellants were terminated). There was some speculation that the ruling was politically motivated, with the more realpolitik-oriented interpretations claiming it was intended to divide the indigenous vote (Vargas was regarded as capable of reaching some of the potential voters of Lucio Gutiérrez) and the more benevolent interpretations stating it would have been politically and morally problematic to close the door to the first indigenous presidential candidate in the history of Ecuador. In the end, the candidacy of Vargas was not very successful, ending with less than one per cent of the vote.</p> <p>The TSE received 42 official complaints about the voting and counting process. Of these, 18 were about the Congress elections and 15 about elections for various municipal councils. The other electoral processes were the subject of considerably fewer complaints.</p> <p>The most common reasons for complaints were on the one hand disagreements on how to interpret the law on the distribution of seats in a given electoral district and on the other hand allegations that there had been numerical mistakes in the counting process.</p> <p>Among the complaints on seat distribution, the most common disagreement was over how to transform votes into seats in electoral districts with two congressional representatives in accordance with Article 104 of the electoral law. In the EU EOM opinion, the law does not leave much room for differing interpretations in this case, but various parties claimed that the law is ambiguous and decided to fill a complaint. The TSE interpreted the article in a manner that the EU EOM finds correct, notwithstanding the fact that its president Carlos Aguinaga gave a dissenting vote in each of these decisions.</p> <p>The political parties that filed most complaints were the PSC and the PRE, with seven complaints each, followed by the MPD with five complaints. The clear majority of complaints did not result in the reversal of the original decision. Of the three parties, the first two had two complaints upheld and MPD one. The PSC complaints were made mostly in provinces where its traditional voting base</p>
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			<p>is not very strong, such as Loja, Sucumbíos, Zamora and Los Ríos, whereas the PRE was actively complaining in Esmeraldas and Los Ríos, its traditional strongholds. Another difference between the main complainants was that while the PSC complaints focused on the Congressional races, the PRE was more concerned about the local elections.</p> <p>Geographically, there were clearly more complaints about the Amazon provinces than about other parts of the country, the main reason being that all of these provinces elect two Congress representatives and therefore disagreements on Article 104 are more likely to arise there. The Coast followed, with complaints being common especially in Esmeraldas and Los Ríos as well as, to a lesser extent, in Manabí. In the Sierra, the provinces of Pichincha and Loja originated most complaints, though in general fewer complaints occurred than in the Coast and Amazonia.</p> <p>IV. THE ELECTORAL AUTHORITY</p> <p>In spite of much talk anticipating fraud among certain candidates before the first round, no evidence was provided either before or after the election that such fraud actually existed either at the polling stations or in the computer systems. Nevertheless, the electoral process was not properly managed by the electoral authority, and a lot of shortcomings have been reported through the entire period. Reasonably good planning was prepared in advance by the TSE, and the election budget was generously financed with funds from the national budget and some international assistance, mainly from USAID. In fact the 2002 election budget was twice that of previous elections with around USD 4 per registered voter, which is close to the average in Latin America *. Nevertheless, the election was poorly managed both in terms of the recruitment of polling</p> <p>EUROPEAN UNION ELECTION OBERVATION MISSION. 2002. ECUADOR PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 20 OCTOBER – 24 NOVEMBER 2002. FINAL REPORT http://edz.bib.uni-mannheim.de/daten/edz-h/az/02/elections-reports-ecuador-02_en.pdf</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Gutiérrez won a surprise victory in the 2002 presidential election, marking the first time that Ecuador’s head of state shared the ethnicity and humble background of the country’s large indigenous population. However, by the end of 2003, Gutiérrez’s popularity had been weakened by political conflicts and the immediate effects of his fiscal austerity policies. The powerful Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) movement soon withdrew its support for the president. Dissent over fiscal and labor reforms spilled into the streets, and the opposition began to press for his removal in 2004. The protest movement grew after Gutiérrez engaged in a series of arbitrary dismissals of and appointments to the Supreme Court. He was</p>
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			<p>ousted in April 2005 on the spurious charge of “abandonment of post,” and Vice President Alfredo Palacio assumed the presidency. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/ecuador</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Last updated at: (Beijing Time) Monday, November 25, 2002 Retired Army Colonel Elected President of Ecuador</p> <p>Lucio Gutierrez, a retired army colonel, won Sunday's presidential election runoff in Ecuador, thus becoming the South American country's 52nd president, said the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE).</p> <p>Lucio Gutierrez, a retired army colonel, won Sunday's presidential election runoff in Ecuador, thus becoming the South American country's 52nd president, said the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE).</p> <p>According to preliminary results released by the TSE Sunday evening, Gutierrez, a candidate from the January 21 Patriotic Society Party, won 2.7048 million votes, or 54.35 percent of the 97.69 percent of votes counted so far. Gutierrez's major contender Alvaro Noboa, of the Institutional National Action Renovating Party, garnered 2.2716 million votes, or 45.65 percent of the accounted votes, said TSE.</p> <p>Noboa, a banana tycoon, conceded defeat to Gutierrez in a speech following the announcement.</p> <p>Sunday's voting was peaceful as polling stations remained open to voters from 7:00 am (1200 GMT) to 5:00 pm (2200 GMT).</p> <p>Official results will not be released until voting finishes in the southern city of Riobamba, where voting has been postponed until Dec. 1 due to a state of emergency declared in the city after a series of explosions at an ammunition depot on Tuesday that killed seven people.</p> <p>About 8.15 million citizens have registered to vote in the 37,275 voting centers throughout the country's 22 provinces.</p> <p>Meanwhile, some 150 international observers from seven international organizations, such as the European Union (EU), the Organization of American States and the Andean Parliament, monitored the election process.</p> <p>In the first-round of presidential elections held on October 20, Gutierrez won 20.32 percent of the total votes and Noboa got 17.36 percent, followed by nine other candidates.</p>
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<p>Ecuador 2006</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>Alvaro Novoa rejected the results of the election, in his view there was fraud. He formally presented a petition asking a vote recount before the Supreme Electoral Tribunal.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 26 de noviembre de 2006 (segunda vuelta) Winner: Rafael Correa - Alianza PAIS Runner-up candidate: Álvaro Noboa - PRIAN</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Correa ganó la Presidencia de Ecuador, según escrutinio oficial</p> <p>El izquierdista Rafael Correa ganó este martes la Presidencia de Ecuador al obtener una ventaja parcial de 15,8 puntos, según el escrutinio oficial del 90,1% de la votación, que señala una diferencia inalcanzable para su rival derechista Álvaro Noboa.</p> <p>De acuerdo con el conteo del Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE), Correa obtiene el 57,9% de la votación, equivalente a 3.243.026 sufragios, contra el 42,1% de Noboa (2.360.334).</p> <p>Los votos que restan por contabilizar totalizan 689.541, considerando una abstención del 23,9% registrada hasta ahora, que representa 2.190.465 de los 9,16 millones de electores convocados a las urnas.</p> <p>Según el TSE, los sufragios contabilizados hasta el 90,1% del escrutinio suman 6.285.119, incluidos los blancos (62.558) y nulos (615.679).</p>

			<p>El organismo tiene previsto anunciar los resultados definitivos el miércoles, aunque Correa -amigo del presidente venezolano Hugo Chávez- se proclamó ganador tras finalizar el balotaje del domingo, cuando cuatro mediciones extraoficiales le habían dado 14 puntos de ventaja en promedio.</p> <p>Correa amplía la zaga izquierdista Noboa, sin embargo, no admite aún la derrota y advirtió que si detecta indicios de fraude impugnará los resultados.</p> <p>En la primera vuelta del 15 de octubre, Noboa -un multimillonario bananero que perdió también en los balotajes presidenciales de 1998 y 2002- ganó con 26,8% de los votos válidos (1.464.251) frente a 22,8% (1.246.333) del economista Correa, quien se autodefine como un cristiano y humanista de izquierda.</p> <p>Correa, de 43 años, fue elegido para el período 2007-2011 y debe reemplazar a Alfredo Palacio, quien asumió el poder en abril de 2005 tras la destitución del entonces mandatario Lucio Gutiérrez, elegido en los comicios de 2002.</p> <p>AFP 29 de Noviembre de 2006 http://www6.rel-uita.org/internacional/correa_llega_al_gobierno-2.htm</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El discurso de presentación del binomio Noboa – Taiano dejó ver a un candidato agreste y más convencido que nunca de ser “el enviado de Dios”. El uso de la biblia, la convocatoria a orar en sus mítines y la invocación de Dios en cada discurso fueron prácticas que se acentuaron hasta llegar casi a la compulsión durante su campaña de primera y segunda vuelta. Esta teatralidad acompañaba a la entrega de camisetas, microcréditos, computadoras y sillas de ruedas (una por cada locación visitada). El candidato no se conformaba sólo con entregar la silla de ruedas: Noboa cargaba al enfermo y lo sentaba, no sin antes imponerle las manos y orar por él. Si el clamor de la masa amenazaba con salirse de control, tomaba su infaltable pequeño bolso negro de cuero, siempre a la mano, y entregaba algunos dólares para calmarla.</p> <p>Recalde, Paulina . 2007. “Elecciones presidenciales 2006: una aproximación a los actores del proceso.” <i>Iconos</i>. Revista de Ciencias Sociales. Num. 27, Quito, enero 2007, pp. 15-25 http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/i27recalde.pdf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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			<p>Los incidentes se produjeron por el enfrentamiento de partidarios de Correa y del perdedor, el magnate bananero Alvaro Noboa, quien no admite su derrota :cara_risa: y exige el conteo voto por voto, abriendo las urnas de elecciones en todo Ecuador.</p> <p>Quito/Guyaquil.- Varios incidentes se produjeron en el Tribunal Electoral de la provincia de Guayas, la de mayor número de votantes en Ecuador, cuando este domingo se realizaron elecciones que situaron como virtual presidente a Rafael Correa, reportaron medios de comunicación locales en la madrugada de hoy.</p> <p>Los incidentes se produjeron por el enfrentamiento de partidarios de Correa y del perdedor, el magnate bananero Alvaro Noboa, quien no admite su derrota y exige el conteo voto por voto, abriendo las urnas de elecciones en todo Ecuador.</p> <p>Militares y policías resguardaron el lugar, mientras los partidarios de uno y otro sector permanecieron en vigilia hasta esta mañana y los seguidores de Correa anunciaron que ahí permanecerán hasta “asegurar el resultado”.</p> <p>Según la ley vigente, los tribunales electorales deben conocer las actas de sufragio de las mesas de votación y registrar la votación. Sólo en caso de que haya alguna anomalía, se procede a abrir la urna y contar voto por voto.</p> <p>El Tribunal del Guayas permanece con fuerte resguardo y el edificio ha sido acordonado por los militares, mientras el resto de tribunales de las otras 21 provincias de Ecuador desarrollan sus actividades de registro de las actas de votación a fin de tener resultados oficiales para que los proclame mañana el Tribunal Supremo Electoral.</p> <p>Mientras los tribunales desarrollaban su tarea, en varias de las principales ciudades de Ecuador, partidarios de Correa festejaron el triunfo en las calles, con música y bailes. En Quito, en la primera de las celebraciones, el virtual presidente cantó en la tarima una canción en honor al mítico guerrillero argentino Ernesto Ché Guevara.</p> <p>Ecuador celebró este domingo elecciones presidenciales entre los finalistas Alvaro Noboa y Rafael Correa y según sondeos a pie de urna y dos sistemas de conteo rápido no oficiales, Correa resultó ganador con un margen promedio de diez puntos.</p> <p>http://foro.univision.com/t5/Comunidad-Ecuatoriana/Hay-enfrentamientos-entre-partidarios-de-Correa-y-del-PERDEDOR/td-p/127770444</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Candidato opositor acusa fraude electoral en Ecuador El magnate Álvaro Noboa desconoció los resultados extraoficiales que favorecieron al izquierdista Rafael Correa y señaló que espera un recuento voto a voto. Domingo, 26 de Noviembre de 2006, 22:58</p>
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			<p>GUAYAQUIL.— El magnate Álvaro Noboa desconoció los resultados extraoficiales que favorecieron al izquierdista Rafael Correa en la segunda vuelta presidencial y dijo que se prepara "un escenario" para un fraude.</p> <p>Antes de entrar a una entrevista en un canal de televisión, Noboa dijo "no acepto la derrota, acepto la victoria... yo gané".</p> <p>Más tarde, en una rueda de prensa en Guayaquil, pidió de la autoridad electoral un conteo voto a voto, mientras decenas de sus simpatizantes se congregaban en las afueras de la empresa Industrial Molinera, una de sus propiedades, para apoyarlo.</p> <p>"No acepto los resultados", dijo respecto de las encuestas a boca de urna realizada por los canales de televisión, que difundieron una vez cerradas las mesas y agregó que "no hay resultados, ha sido un escenario que están preparando para hacer fraude".</p> <p>El multimillonario, considerado el hombre más rico del país, asemejó la actual situación con su primera participación electoral por la presidencia en 1998, cuando perdió contra Jamil Mahuad, indicando que "yo siento que han armado un escenario (de fraude) muy, muy parecido al del año 98".</p> <p>Noboa informó además que pidió a los dirigentes de su partido en todo el país "que se vayan al Tribunal Supremo Electoral y que exijan que se abran las urnas para contar voto a voto, para que ya no quede ninguna duda".</p> <p>http://www.emol.com/noticias/internacional/2006/11/26/237221/candidato-opositor-acusa-fraude-electoral-en-ecuador.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Resultados oficiales confirman victoria de Correa con más de 800 mil votos de diferencia Agencia AFP. Desde Quito. 28 noviembre de 2006</p> <p>Rafael Correa, quien se autodefine como un cristiano y humanista de izquierda, ganó la Presidencia de Ecuador con una ventaja parcial de 14.6 puntos (857,675 sufragios), según datos del Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) de las 11 de la mañana del martes, cuando han sido computadas el 94.13% (34,463) de las 36,613 Juntas Receptoras de Votos. Correa logra 57.32% (3,356,369 votos) y su rival, el magnate ultraderechista Álvaro Noboa, el 42.68% (2,498,694 votos). De acuerdo al informe del TSE, se registran 5,855,063 votos válidos, 65,697 votos blancos (0.76%), 642,822 (7.45%) votos nulos y una abstención del 23.77% (2,181,300) de los 9,165,125 ecuatorianos empadronados. De las 22 provincias, Correa gana en 19 y Noboa en 3, entre las cuales suman la tercera parte del electorado. Todavía no hay registros del voto en el exterior. Los votos que restan por contabilizar totalizan 416.466. Según el TSE, los sufragios contabilizados hasta el 94,1% del escrutinio suman 6,567,359, incluidos los blancos (65.697) y nulos (642.822). El organismo tiene previsto anunciar los resultados definitivos el miércoles, aunque Correa -amigo del presidente venezolano Hugo Chávez- se proclamó ganador tras finalizar el balotaje del domingo, cuando</p>
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			<p>cuatro mediciones extraoficiales le habían dado 14 puntos de ventaja en promedio. Noboa, sin embargo, no admite aún la derrota y advirtió que si detecta indicios de fraude impugnará los resultados. En la primera vuelta del 15 de octubre, Noboa -un multimillonario bananero que perdió también en los balotajes presidenciales de 1998 y 2002- ganó con 26,8% de los votos válidos (1,464,251) frente a 22.8% (1,246,333) del economista Correa. Correa, de 43 años, fue elegido para el período 2007-2011 y debe reemplazar a Alfredo Palacio, quien asumió el poder en abril de 2005 tras la destitución del entonces mandatario Lucio Gutiérrez, elegido en los comicios de 2002. El virtual presidente electo pidió este lunes a Noboa que acepte la derrota. "Es una victoria histórica, el éxito es contundente", declaró el ex ministro de Economía al criticar el pedido de Noboa de realizar un conteo voto a voto en dos provincias que representan el 36% de la votación total. "Hay presiones viscerales, pero espero que se calmen, se seren y acepten la realidad y dejen avanzar a Ecuador porque no van a cambiar esa realidad demorando los resultados electorales", afirmó Correa en el puerto de Guayaquil (suroeste).</p> <p>http://www.radiolaprimerisima.com/noticias/6755/resultados-oficiales-confirman-victoria-de-correa-con-mas-de-800-mil-votos-de-diferencia</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Noboa se resiste a reconocer el triunfo de Correa en las elecciones de Ecuador EFE Quito 12 DIC 2006 - 01:10 CET El ex candidato presidencial de Ecuador Álvaro Noboa, que perdió las elecciones del pasado 26 de noviembre, reiteró ayer que no reconoce el triunfo de Rafael Correa y dijo que sospecha que su rival financió su campaña de forma ilegal. El ex candidato presidencial de Ecuador Álvaro Noboa, que perdió las elecciones del pasado 26 de noviembre, reiteró ayer que no reconoce el triunfo de Rafael Correa y dijo que sospecha que su rival financió su campaña de forma ilegal. “Tenemos graves sospechas de que estos gastos [de campaña] podrían ser ilícitos”, aseguró Noboa ante la prensa, tras señalar que sólo admitirá su derrota cuando las autoridades respectivas resuelvan el caso. Además, Noboa, que según el escrutinio oficial perdió los comicios con más de 800.000 votos de diferencia, dijo que sus sospechas incluso contemplan la posibilidad de que la financiación de la campaña de Correa haya provenido de “algún tipo de lavado de dinero o de tráfico”. Si se comprobasen esas denuncias, señaló el magnate bananero ecuatoriano, Correa podría ser descalificado por las autoridades electorales. Noboa también criticó a los medios de comunicación que llaman a Correa “presidente electo del país”, y dijo que él no le nombrará de esa forma, sino como un “candidato” sobre quien pesan sospechas.</p>
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			<p>Según el multimillonario, ni Correa ni la tesorería de su grupo político, Alianza País, han entregado el total de las aportaciones recibidas en su campaña.</p> <p>Además, dijo que varios personajes entre los que figuran como donantes de la campaña de su rival son personas que no han declarado impuestos y, por tanto, sus aportaciones podrían ser de origen ilegal.</p> <p>El pronunciamiento de Noboa se da dos semanas después de los comicios presidenciales, cuando también denunció un presunto fraude en su contra y exigió un recuento voto a voto, petición que no prosperó en el Tribunal Supremo Electoral, que ya proclamó a Correa como vencedor.</p> <p>Noboa, considerado el hombre más rico del país, se presentó a las últimas elecciones en su tercer intento fallido por llegar al poder a través de las urnas. Pese a su derrota presidencial, su formación política, el Partido Renovador Institucional de Acción Nacional (PRIAN), será la mayor fuerza parlamentaria.</p> <p>Durante la campaña electoral, Noboa acusó a Correa, sin presentar pruebas, de recibir financiación por parte del presidente de Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, y de las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), acusaciones negadas tajantemente por el candidato vencedor de los comicios.</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2006/12/12/actualidad/1165878003_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Proclaman a Correa vencedor de elecciones presidenciales ecuatorianas por AlexisRojas @ lunes, dic. 04, 2006 – 07:57:23 pm</p> <p>Proclaman a Correa vencedor de elecciones presidenciales ecuatorianas</p> <p>QUITO. — El Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) de Ecuador proclamó hoy oficialmente al economista Rafael Correa, de Alianza País, triunfador de elecciones presidenciales ecuatorianas. Al contabilizarse el 100 por ciento de las 36 mil 613 actas electorales, Correa, de 43 años, acaparó el 56,67 por ciento del sufragio, es decir tres millones 517 mil 635 votos, con lo cual aseguró la presidencia del país para el período 2007-2011.</p> <p>Su rival, el magnate bananero Alvaro Noboa, obtuvo el 43,33 por ciento del escrutinio, que totalizan dos millones 689 mil 418 boletas a su favor.</p> <p>De las 22 provincias de Ecuador, Noboa ganó en sólo tres —Guayas, Manabí y Esmeraldas, todos territorios de la costa— y el resto de las zonas se inclinó por el plan de gobierno de Correa.</p> <p>La proclamación oficial de estos resultados se registra en momentos en que la mayoría de los dignatarios latinoamericanos felicitaron a Correa por su triunfo en la segunda vuelta de las elecciones del 26 de noviembre pasado.</p> <p>El economista ha recibido congratulaciones de el mandatario venezolano, Hugo Chávez; argentino, Néstor Kirchner; brasileño, Luiz Inacio Lula; boliviano, Evo Morales; chileno, Michelle Bachelet; peruano, Alan García; y francés, Jacques Chirac, entre otros</p>
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			<p>El presidente ecuatoriano, Alfredo Palacio, saludó el triunfo del representante de Alianza País y expresó la certeza de que su sucesor a partir del 15 de enero de 2007 podrá sacar al país adelante. A partir de este momento, el TSE anunció 48 horas para impugnar estos resultados. Pasado este tiempo se le entregará a Correa la credencial que lo acredita nuevo jefe de Estado. La ceremonia de asunción al poder del nuevo dignatario se realizará el 15 de enero del 2007. http://alexisrojas.blog.com.es/2006/12/05/proclaman_a_correa_vencedor_de_eleccione~1402911/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Noboa impugna el triunfo de Correa en las elecciones de Ecuador El Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) recibió este lunes una impugnación del consevador Álvaro Noboa contra la victoria del izquierdista Rafael Correa. Noboa, mediante sus abogados, alegó haber sido perjudicado por las encuestas a boca de urna del día de Publicado: dic. 4, 2006 at 3:14 PM QUITO, Ecuador, dic. 4 (UPI) -- El Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) recibió este lunes una impugnación del consevador Álvaro Noboa contra la victoria del izquierdista Rafael Correa. Noboa, mediante sus abogados, alegó haber sido perjudicado por las encuestas a boca de urna del día de la elección y pidió un recuento voto a voto en una de las 22 provincias del país. El presidente del TSE, Xavier Cazar, dijo que el recurso fue presentado por Jorge Cevallos, y ya fue conocido por el pleno del organismo. Según la impugnación, "existió un direccionamiento en las encuestas del exit poll (encuestas a boca de urna) realizadas por varias empresas encuestadoras que perjudicaron la candidatura de Alvaro Noboa Pontón". Explicó que Noboa encabezaba las encuestas' días antes de los comicios del 26 de noviembre. Agrega que el resultado totalmente contrario al que daban los sondeos dos días antes, "provocó que se establezcan resultados distintos a la verdadera y real manifestación popular en las urnas". LATAM: Reporte http://espanol.upi.com/Politica/2006/12/04/Noboa-impugna-el-triunfo-de-Correa-en-las-elecciones-de-Ecuador/UPI-73341165256040/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Noboa no se rinde y decide impugnar triunfo de Correa en Ecuador Agencia AP. Desde Quito, Ecuador. 4 diciembre de 2006 El Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) informó el lunes que la candidatura del magnate Alvaro Noboa presentó una impugnación a la victoria del izquierdista Rafael Correa por considerar que fue perjudicada por las encuestas a boca de urna y pide un recuento voto a voto en una de las 22</p>
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			<p>provincias del país. El presidente del TSE, Xavier Cazar, dijo que el recurso fue presentado el viernes por Jorge Cevallos, director del Partido Renovador Institucional de Acción Nacional de Noboa, y que fue conocido el lunes por el pleno del organismo. Cazar leyó a periodistas parte del documento en el que Cevallos argumenta su apelación. Con el 100% de los votos escrutados, el TSE informó que Correa logró 3,517,635 (56.67%) y Noboa 2,689,418 (43.33%), una diferencia de 828,217 votos (13.34%). La abstención fue de un 24.07% (2,206,380 electores). De esa forma, el candidato por el Partido Renovador Institucional Acción Nacional (Prian, derecha) perdió por tercera vez consecutiva un balotaje, pese a que su partido ganó las legislativas del 15 de octubre, al alcanzar el mayor número de escaños. Noboa se abstuvo de admitir la derrota el pasado 26 de noviembre, cuando se realizó la elección, a la espera de que el TSE divulgara el resultado. Según la impugnación, "existió un direccionamiento en las encuestas del exit poll (encuestas a boca de urna) realizadas por varias empresas encuestadoras que perjudicaron la candidatura de Alvaro Noboa Pontón". Explicó que Noboa "lideraba las encuestas" días antes de los comicios del 26 de noviembre y "al culminar la jornada electoral se empieza a entregar un resultado totalmente adverso al que daban las encuestas hace dos días antes, lo que provocó que establezcan resultados distintos a la verdadera y real manifestación popular en las urnas". Cevallos también señaló en la impugnación, que luego de terminar el escrutinio en la provincia del Guayas, la de mayor número de electores, se solicitó "la apertura y el conteo voto a voto de 10.423 kits electorales", que en primera instancia fue aceptado por el tribunal electoral de esa provincia pero negado por el tribunal nacional. El alto dirigente del partido de Noboa sostiene que esa decisión del TSE "fue ilegal e improcedente" y solicita que se de paso a ese conteo voto a voto. "Una apelación puede presentarse con los fundamentos de hecho y de derecho que considere la persona que está interponiendo el recurso", aseguró Cazar. El presidente del TSE dijo que toda la documentación fue remitida a la Comisión Jurídica del TSE y que ha solicitado a dicha comisión "se pronuncie lo antes posible". Según establece la ley, el máximo organismo electoral tiene cinco días de plazo para resolver las impugnaciones presentadas y luego dar paso a la proclamación oficial de resultados. Varios organismos internacionales y mandatarios de la región han reconocido públicamente a Correa como el nuevo presidente ecuatoriano, que deberá asumir el mando el 15 de enero para un periodo de cuatro años.</p> <p>http://www.radiolaprimerisima.com/noticias/6969/noboa-no-se-rinde-y-decide-impugnar-triunfo-de-correa-en-ecuador</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Rafael Correa, proclamado oficialmente ganador de las elecciones en Ecuador</p>
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			<p>El Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) de Ecuador ha proclamado hoy de manera oficial al izquierdista, Rafael Correa, como ganador de los recientes comicios del 26 de noviembre con una amplia ventaja frente al empresario bananero Alvaro Noboa. Además este organismo desestimó 'por improcedente' el recurso de impugnación que presentó hoy el partido de Noboa Partido Renovador Institucional Acción Nacional (PRIAN).</p> <p>El presidente del organismo, Xavier Cazar, anunció hoy que una vez cerrada la etapa de escrutinio nacional y computados los votos válidos "se proclama oficialmente ganadores de la contienda electoral 2006, al binomio presidencial Rafael Correa y Lenín Moreno, como presidente Constitucional de la República y Vicepresidente Constitucional de la República".</p> <p>Cazar indicó que Correa obtuvo el 56,67 por ciento del total de votos válidos, que representa 3.517.635 sufragios, mientras que Noboa registró el 43,33 por ciento, que equivale a 2.689.418 votos, indicó el TSE en el recuento publicado en su página web. De los más de 9,1 millones de electores acudieron a las urnas 6.966.145 de personas. Desestimado el recurso de Noboa.</p> <p>El titular del TSE también informó que el máximo organismo electoral negó "por improcedente" el recurso de impugnación a los resultados que presentó la candidatura de Noboa por considerar que fue perjudicada por las encuestas a boca de urna y pedía un recuento voto a voto en una de las 22 provincias del país.</p> <p>La semana pasada varios organismos internacionales y Gobiernos de todo el mundo ya expresaron públicamente su reconocimiento y felicitación al presidente electo, tomando en cuenta que la holgada ventaja de Correa sobre su rival no daba lugar a un cambio dramático en los resultados.</p> <p>Correa, un economista de 43 años, propuso en su campaña la lucha contra los partidos políticos tradicionales, la convocatoria a una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente y el ser parte de una "izquierda progresista". Triunfó en 19 de las 22 provincias del país, en algunas de ellas con hasta el triple de los votos.</p> <p>El nuevo mandatario deberá reemplazar al actual presidente, Alfredo Palacio el próximo 15 de enero durante un periodo previsto de cuatro años. El TSE había anunciado que ofrecería los resultados oficiales el pasado martes, pero el recuento se estancó a falta de los votos en el Exterior y a problemas en el traslado de las actas de dos provincias ecuatorianas.</p> <p>Fuente:ABC http://noticiasprotocolo.blogspot.mx/2006_12_05_archive.html</p>
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			http://www.larioja.com/20061204/mundo/rafael-correa-proclamado-ganador_200612042025.html
Ecuador 2009	1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 0	Lucio Gutierrez denounced fraud and rejected the results published by the CNE, but did not present any formal appeal against the election results, and Correa was proclaimed President.	<p>Election date: Domingo 26 de abril de 2009 (primera vuelta) Winner: Rafael Correa - Alianza PAIS Runner-up candidate: Lucio Gutiérrez - Sociedad Patriótica</p> <p>Rafael Correa triunfó en primera vuelta con una una votación de casi el 52 por ciento de los votos, el coronel Lucio Gutiérrez obtuvo el 28,24 por ciento de la votación, mientras que Álvaro Noboa Pontón, el magnate bananero obtuvo el 11,44% de los votos. Correa tomó posesión del cargo el 10 de Agosto de 2009.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>XIII. IMPUGNACIONES, APELACIONES Y QUEJAS</p> <p>A. Impugnaciones, Apelaciones y Quejas El marco legal referente a impugnaciones, apelaciones y quejas es, en términos generales, adecuado y cumple con los estándares internacionales. La Constitución de 2008 confirió competencia al TCE para resolver impugnaciones, quejas y apelaciones contra las decisiones tomadas por el CNE y sus órganos electorales desconcentrados. Además, el TCE fue competente para sancionar violaciones de regulaciones electorales, especialmente las que se refieren al uso de recursos públicos, de los gastos electorales y de propaganda, así como las relativas a infracciones electorales y la resolución de disputas internas de partidos políticos (por ejemplo, las relacionadas con elecciones primarias). La creación del TCE fue una contribución positiva al proceso electoral, que pudo haber aportado una mayor independencia a la resolución de disputas electorales si hubiese sido adecuadamente implementada. Una muestra del aporte del TCE al proceso electoral ha sido la efectiva y oportuna resolución de 80 impugnaciones relacionadas con la inscripción de candidaturas⁷². El Tribunal hizo considerables esfuerzos organizacionales y administrativos para establecerse como una institución nueva, ante un complejo escenario de transición. Por ejemplo, mediante una útil página web, el establecimiento de líneas de jurisprudencia, la publicación de tablas de casos y la apertura de un canal de información durante la jornada electoral a través de una línea telefónica.</p> <p>En relación a casos electorales más sensibles políticamente, tales como la resolución de infracciones, quejas y apelaciones relacionadas con violaciones a la normativa de la campaña electoral, las decisiones del TCE han sido problemáticas. En primer lugar, los procedimientos del TCE y sus plazos no resultaron ser efectivos⁷³ y han impedido una resolución rápida de las[...]</p> <p>D. Impugnaciones relativas a resultados electorales</p>

			<p>Las impugnaciones relativas a los resultados electorales de las elecciones presidenciales y de la lista nacional para la elección a la Asamblea Nacional pueden ser interpuestas ante el CNE dentro de las 24 horas posteriores a la notificación de los resultados. Las JPEs son responsables de conocer las impugnaciones relativas a las listas provinciales.</p> <p>Las apelaciones en contra de las decisiones del CNE y de las JPEs pueden ser interpuestas ante el TCE90. Aunque las impugnaciones pueden ser interpuestas sólo tras la notificación oficial de los resultados, el candidato presidencial Lucio Gutiérrez, ya había denunciado fraude y formalmente objetó los resultados publicados en el sitio web del CNE91. Específicamente, alegó la manipulación del sistema informático del CNE (señaló que en cierto período el número de sus votos publicados en el sitio web del CNE disminuyó en 177.342) y la alteración ilegal de resultados en las actas de las JRVs. Gutiérrez comunicó estas irregularidades a la MOE UE. Sin embargo, la evidencia presentada a la MOE UE pareció estar basada en casos aislados (las irregularidades se referían a diez actas de resultados), más que en evidencias cuantitativamente representativas.</p> <p>Al momento de redactar este informe, no hay datos sobre el número exacto de reclamos administrativos presentados ante el CNE sobre los resultados a la Asamblea Nacional. El TCE recibió sólo una impugnación de resultados de asambleístas provinciales. No hay una fecha definitiva para la finalización del proceso de impugnación de los resultados a la Asamblea Nacional, tanto provincial como nacional. Los resultados de la candidatura a la presidencia de la República fueron proclamados el 30 de mayo y no hubo impugnaciones a los mismos.</p> <p>C. Proclamación y Análisis Político de los Resultados de las Elecciones</p> <p>Los resultados oficiales de las elecciones presidenciales fueron anunciados el 30 de mayo. El CNE sólo podrá proclamar los resultados finales de todas las dignidades después de la resolución de todas las quejas e impugnaciones. Puesto que no hubo impugnaciones a los resultados presidenciales, Rafael Correa, de MPaís, aseguró su victoria en primera vuelta con un 51,99 por ciento de los votos válidos. Lucio Gutiérrez del Partido Sociedad Patriótica (PSP) obtuvo 28,24 por ciento.</p> <p>UNIÓN EUROPEA, MISIÓN DE OBSERVACIÓN ELECTORAL. ECUADOR INFORME FINAL. Elecciones Presidenciales y para la Asamblea Nacional 26 de abril de 2009. Junio 2009 http://eeas.europa.eu/human_rights/election_observation/ecuador_2009/final_report_es.pdf</p> <p>http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/americas/EC/ecuador-informe-final-elecciones-presidenciales-y/at_download/file.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>updated 9:08 a.m. EDT, Mon April 27, 2009</p>
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			<p>Ecuador's Correa claims re-election win By Arthur Brice CNN (CNN) -- U.S.-educated economist and socialist Rafael Correa became the first president to win re-election in Ecuador since 1972, a victory all the more astounding given that the three preceding presidents were ousted amid anti-government protests. "We have made history in a country where from 1996 to 2006 no democratic government completed its term," Correa said in claiming victory a few minutes after the polls closed Sunday night. "We had seven presidents during that time." Correa vowed to keep working for the common people. "We are here for the poor," he said at a news conference in which he claimed victory. "We will never fail you. We will never fail you." Official results were not available Sunday night, but the president's Web page said Correa had won 54.92 percent of the vote. According to an exit poll by CNN affiliate Ecuavisa TV, Correa won 55.2 percent of the vote, leading former President Lucio Gutierrez by more than 25 percentage points and banana magnate Alvaro Noboa by 45 percentage points. Legislator Martha Roldos finished a distant fourth, with about 3 percent of the vote, the exit poll indicated. Official results also were not available in elections for the 124-seat National Congress, where Correa's Alianza PAIS party was expected to do well and could win enough seats to control the legislative assembly. An exit poll cited by El Comercio newspaper said Correa's party had won more than 60 percent of the vote and could end up controlling the congress. Gutierrez, who was president from January 2003 until fleeing the country amid a scandal in April 2005, declined to concede defeat and accused Correa of fraud. "The whole country said, 'With Lucio we were better and with Correa we are worse,' " Gutierrez said. He also indicated during a boisterous news conference he may run for president again in four years. http://www.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/americas/04/26/ecuador.election/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>ELECCIONES EN ECUADOR Noboa admite su derrota y pero dice que Ecuador va hacia «el abismo» Se lamentó de que el pueblo ecuatoriano haya apostado por la propuesta de Correa que, según él, podría desembocar en una situación de mayor pobreza. EFE 26/4/2009 Actualizada a las 7:49 h http://www.lavozdegalicia.es/mundo/2009/04/27/00031240811302736459533.htm</p>
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			<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ecuador: Correa acusa a Lucio Gutiérrez de conspiración nfolatam Quito, 13 de mayo de 2009 El régimen de Rafael Correa ha acusado a Lucio Gutiérrez de estar conspirando contra el gobierno para provocar su caída. El expresidente Gutiérrez ha pedido la repetición de las elecciones presidenciales ya que denuncia que hubo fraude en los comicios de abril y ha amenazado con desconocer los resultados y promover actos de resistencia civil. http://www.infolatam.com/2009/05/12/ecuador-correa-acusa-a-lucio-gutierrez-de-conspiracion/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>29 de abril de 2009 11:04:00 EXIGE SEGUNDA VUELTA AFP Opositor de Correa denuncia "monstruoso fraude" en elecciones presidenciales Lucio Gutiérrez pide a las misiones de observación electoral que reciban su denuncia y menciona acciones legales contra las empresas encuestadoras Por elnuevodiario.com.ni Globo El candidato opositor ecuatoriano Lucio Gutiérrez denunció un "monstruoso fraude" en su contra en las elecciones del domingo en las que, según datos no definitivos, fue reelecto el presidente Rafael Correa, y pidió a los observadores internacionales que atiendan su reclamo. Gutiérrez, a quien todas las mediciones a boca de urna y un conteo rápido de votos dieron como perdedor, acusó al gobierno de haberle robado votos para evitar un balotaje. Con el 78,1% de las mesas escrutadas, Correa lograba su reelección para un mandato de cuatro años con el 51,8% de los votos y una ventaja de 23 puntos sobre Gutiérrez (27,9). "Este es un gobierno ladrón, este es un gobierno fraudulento, que se declara ganador de una manera ilegítima", expresó el ex jefe de Estado al canal Uno de televisión. Gutiérrez, quien fue derrocado en 2005 antes de terminar su mandato, pidió a las misiones de observación electoral que reciban su denuncia y anunció acciones legales contra las empresas encuestadoras. "Pido públicamente ser recibido por los observadores internacionales para demostrarles este monstruoso fraude con hechos", sostuvo. Gutiérrez exhibió unas actas electorales que, según él, fueron adulteradas en favor de Correa y expresó que "el país se está incendiando porque le están robando su decisión". En sus informes parciales, los observadores de la OEA y la Unión Europea no han advertido una irregularidad como</p>
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El Salvador 1984-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>El Salvador 1984</p>	<p>1=1 2=1 3=1</p>	<p>The Salvadorian electoral process of 1984 was characterized by high levels of confrontation and street violence. The electoral tribunal declared José Napoleón Duarte the election winner. Nevertheless, his main competitor Roberto D'Aubisson refused to concede defeat and claimed an US intervention in the electoral process. Salvadoran election law gives either side the right to lodge complaints with the Central Elections Council over the final outcome. But Arena officials said that since they already lost appeals during the count, the party is unlikely to make new protests to the council.</p>	<p>Election date: 12/05/1984 Winner: José Napoleón Duarte - PDC Runner-up candidate: Roberto D'Aubisson - ARENA</p> <p>Duarte, proclamado oficialmente vencedor en las elecciones de El Salvador 13 de mayo de 1984. El país</p> <p>El Consejo Central de Elecciones de El Salvador confirmó el viernes por la noche (madrugada del sábado en España) la victoria del democristiano José Napoleón Duarte en la segunda ronda de las elecciones presidenciales, celebrada el pasado día 6, con 100.000 votos de diferencia sobre su rival, el candidato ultraderechista Roberto D'Aubuitson. Duarte, que asumirá su cargo el 1 de junio, consiguió el 53,59% de los sufragios, frente al 46,41 % de D'Aubuisson, dirigente de la Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA).El candidato a la vicepresidencia por ARENA, Hugo Barrera, declaró que su partido no aceptará la victoria de Duarte. "Las elecciones no tienen ninguna credibilidad y los resultados son una farsa," dijo Barrera, quien añadió que la elección de Duarte es, en realidad, "una victoria de la CIA".</p> <p>A este respecto, el diario norteamericano <i>The New York Times</i>, afirmaba ayer que la CIA asignó un millón de dólares (unos 155 millones de pesetas) para apoyar a Duarte,</p>

			<p>y otro medio millón al Partido de Conciliación Nacional (que quedó en tercer lugar en la primera vuelta), todo ello para impedir la victoria de D'Aubuisson.</p> <p>En un comunicado hecho público el viernes por la noche, la Alianza Productiva de El Salvador, importante organización empresarial, manifestó que, "dados algunos factores de intervención extranjera y de arbitrariedades por parte del Consejo Electoral, nunca será posible conocer los auténticos resultados de las elecciones presidenciales".</p> <p>Por su parte, el presidente del Consejo Central de Elecciones declaró que "no ha habido fraude", pero añadió que "se tomará en consideración la impugnación de los resultados", que ARENA podrá efectuar en las 72 horas siguientes al anuncio de la victoria de Duarte.</p> <p>Rodríguez declaró que la democracia cristiana ganó sólo en cuatro de las 14 provincias salvadoreñas y la su victoria se debe al amplio margen de votos conseguido en la capital.</p> <p>Duarte anunció ayer que el Ejército ha creado una comisión especial para eliminar las violaciones de derechos humanos por parte, de sus miembros. "No soy yo, sino ellos mismos, los que llevarán a cabo los cambios dentro las fuerzas armadas", dijo Duarte, quien también ha prometido crear una comisión presidencial para investigar las actividades de los <i>escuadrones de la muerte</i>.</p> <p>Secuestro en un supermercado</p> <p>Por otra, parte, cinco guerrilleros lograron refugiarse en la Embajada mexicana en San Salvador, tras mantener como rehenes, durante nueve horas, a unas 73 personas en un supermercado de San Salvador.</p> <p>Los guerrilleros, que fueron sorprendidos por una patrulla policial cuando estaban efectuando un robo para lograr víveres, fueron trasladados a la sede diplomática en una camioneta de la Cruz Roja, tras un acuerdo con el Gobierno salvadoreño y garantías de asilo político por parte del Gobierno mexicano.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1984/05/13/internacional/453247208_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>D'Aubuisson Refuses To Concede; Duarte Declared El Salvador Victor</p> <p>12 de mayo de 1984</p> <p>Jose Napoleon Duarte was officially declared the winner today in El Salvador's presidential election. But his right-wing opponent refused to concede, saying the vote was meaningless because of fraud and U.S. intervention.</p>
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			<p>in Washington have helped make it possible for Arena and the rebels alike to claim the CIA bought the presidency for Duarte.</p> <p>In addition, Arena officials protested vehemently against the sequence of counting Tuesday night, when the election council began a tally of Duarte strongholds in the capital area before counting rural districts where D'Aubuisson ran strongly. Roberto Meza, Christian Democratic representative on the five-man council, said today even the final results were unlikely to persuade D'Aubuisson's followers to put aside their complaints and concede. "That is too much to ask of them," added Jose Antonio Morales Erlich, the Christian Democratic Party's deputy secretary general. Duarte, announcing a political pact with the Democratic Action Party tonight, also criticized D'Aubuisson's reluctance to concede, saying, "They are so fanatical, so desperate . . . that they are acting irrationally."</p> <p>Salvadoran election law gives either side the right to lodge complaints with the Central Elections Council over the final outcome. But Arena officials said that since they already lost appeals during the count, the party is unlikely to make new protests to the council. More probable, they added, are demands for an investigation by the constituent assembly.</p> <p>Adolfo Ray Prendes, the Christian Democratic secretary general, said in a television address last night that Arena's charges are "traitorous" because of their potential for undermining the country's fragile democratic institutions.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18555942724&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=476&resultsUrlKey=29_T18555942734&cisb=22_T18555942732&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8075&docNo=496</p>
<p>El Salvador 1989</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The candidate of the opposition, Alfredo Cristiani, won the presidential election of 1989. The electoral process was held in the context of the Salvadorian civil war. The government candidate recognized the victory of the opposition.</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Alfredo Cristiani - ARENA Runner-up candidate: Fidel Chavez Mena - PDC/AD</p> <p>Government of El Salvador concedes electoral defeat 21 de marzo de 1989. The Globe and Mail The governing Christian Democratic Party conceded defeat yesterday in El Salvador 's elections , acknowledging that the right-wing Nationalist</p>

			<p>Republican Alliance (Arena) had won the presidency. 'We recognize that Alfredo Cristiani is the winner and that his party will likely have the majority,' Fidel Chavez Mena said. He left open a slight hope of a second-round in the elections, but most political observers in El Salvador have acknowledged an Arena win. Official voting results are incomplete, but with more than half a million votes counted, the National Electoral Council put Arena's support at 53.81 per cent, an outright majority. The Christian Democrats obtained 36.50 per cent. The council acknowledged that it did not know how many people went to the polls, but informal estimates have put the figure at about one million or less. The victory gives control of the National Assembly, the presidency and most of the country's municipalities to Arena, a party whose reputation has been shadowed by connections with the country's death squads. In announcing the party's victory on Sunday night, its presidential candidate Mr. Cristiani said the victory was due to the party's new moderate image and its well-conducted campaign. 'We have been the party that has been explaining what the problems are, why we have unemployment, why we have corruption. We are the only party that has been looking for a solution based on the participation of all sectors. I think the Salvadorean people are tired of confrontation.' Third place in the elections - a position that brings with it a cherished seat on the electoral council - went to the right-wing Party of National Conciliation, which won 4.21 per cent of the vote. The fledgling leftist coalition, the Democratic Convergence, came in fourth with only 3.2 per cent of the vote, considerably less than both the party's supporters and its opponents had predicted. Mr. Chavez Mena attributed his party's failure to a high rate of abstention, for most of which he blamed a transportation stoppage ordered and enforced by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas. The guerrillas called off the stoppage yesterday.</p> <p>http://www.lexisnexis.com/lvacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18556917336&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=26&resultsUrlKey=29_T18556917340&cisb=22_T18556917339&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=303830&docNo=40</p>
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<p>El Salvador 1994</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The right wing ruling party candidate, Armando Calderón won the second round of the 1994 presidential election. Although, his main competitor, Rubén Zamora, was quick to recognize his defeat, he stated he would claim for an electoral reform.</p>	<p>Election date: 07/03/1999 Winner: Armando Calderón - ARENA Runner-up candidate: Rubén Zamora – FMLN/CD/MNR</p> <p>News briefing: ruling party favoured in vote 25 de abril de 1994. The Globe and mail</p> <p>El Salvador's right-wing ruling party headed for almost certain victory over a coalition dominated by former leftist rebels in a run-off presidential election yesterday. Ruling ARENA party candidate Armando Calderon Sol, a 45-year-old lawyer, stopped short of declaring himself the winner but said after voting that he was sure of a resounding triumph. He called on opposition candidate Ruben Zamora and his leftist coalition, headed by the ex-guerrilla commanders who fought a series of U.S.-backed governments during 12 years of civil war, to concede defeat. "I feel like a winner," he said. "We hope the FMLN and the coalition accept the results and show political maturity." Voting began slowly and then picked up but turnout looked lower than in the first round of voting on March 20 and was expected to dip below 50 per cent. Mr. Calderon Sol was forced into yesterday's run-off when he just failed to reach the 50 per cent support needed for first-round victory on March 20. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) leaders, who were taking part in their first-ever elections, privately acknowledged that Mr. Zamora had little or no chance of an upset victory. Reuter http://www.lexisnexis.com/lxacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18556957843&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=926&resultsUrlKey=29_T18556957847&cisb=22_T18556957846&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=303830&docNo=941</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Right wing wins bid in El Salvador elections 25 de abril de 1994. National Public Radio</p>
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		<p>“In El Salvador, the governing right-wing ARENA Party has scored a clear victory in yesterday's presidential runoff elections. The ARENA candidate, Armando Calderon Sol, won more than 68 percent of the vote. The left wing coalition, in which former guerrillas were the dominant party, accepted the defeat soon after the polling stations closed. NPR's Tom Gibb reports from San Salvador.</p> <p>JUBILANT VOTERS DANCING AND SHOUTING</p> <p>Supporters of the right-wing ARENA Party were celebrating on the streets last night almost as soon as the polling closed. Their candidate, a 45-year-old lawyer, Armando Calderon Sol, will be the new president. He's been the mayor of San Salvador for the last six years. After declaring victory last night, he said that the margin of the vote gave him a clear mandate to rule, but he also recognizes that country's former guerrillas had support as well.</p> <p>[through translator] To have a clear and manifest representation from part of the Salvadoran people who have given them their confidence and assured them an undeniable political space in our legislative assembly where they won 21 deputies. We had said that in the democratic way we will look for their participation and try to find consensus through parliamentary debate. We welcome them as a constructive opposition.</p> <p>Calderon Sol is a protege of the ARENA Party founder, the late Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, who ran military death squads during the civil war. But, it was also the present ARENA government which signed peace accords with rebels, ending the 12-year conflict. ARENA's vice president, Enrico Burgo Ustamonte [sp], says the new task will be to reconstruct the country, extending the present free-market policies.</p> <p>We are going to continue in that line of thinking of free enterprise and no controls. I mean, the government has to be just a ruler, a controller, but it doesn't have to intervene in the economy, as we have had.</p> <p>The left-wing candidate, Rubin Zamora, was quick to accept defeat last night. Flanked by former guerrilla commandos, he said the left had done well to get as much as 32 percent of the vote so soon after the end of the civil war.</p> <p>He said one of their main priorities would be to get fundamental reforms of the electoral system. The left believes that they were cheated from doing better in local legislative elections in the first round of voting last month because of massive problems with the voting lists. Sheffy Kandel [sp], one of the top leaders of the former rebels, also urged the new government to fulfill its commitments to carry out remaining peace accords. These include a major land reform program and full deployment of a new civilian police force.</p>
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			<p>He warned that ARENA would have to take the opposition into account if it was to govern successfully. These elections were to have been the culmination of the United Nations-sponsored peace accords, which ended more than a decade of bloodshed two years ago. The campaign, which was full of insults and accusations, shows how polarized the country still remains. Late last year it burst into violence with a spate of death-squad-style killings of former guerrilla commandos. Leaders of both sides last night were being far more reconciliatory following the election results. It remains to be seen whether they can convince their rank-and-file supporters to do the same during the coming years. For National Public Radio, this is Tom Gibb in San Salvador.</p> <p>http://www.lexisnexis.com/lxacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18556957843&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=926&resultsUrlKey=29_T18556957847&cisb=22_T18556957846&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8398&docNo=942</p>
<p>El Salvador 1999</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>In 1999, Francisco Flores, the right wing candidate, defeated Facundo Guardado in a particularly contested election. Despite he initially refused to accept the results and assured it would be a second round, eventually Guardado conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election date: 07/03/1999 Winner: Francisco Flores - ARENA Runner-up candidate: Facundo Guardado – fmln/usc</p> <p>Politics-El Salvador: Arena beats FMLN with low voter turn-out 8 de Marzo de 1999</p> <p>The presidential elections in El Salvador yesterday ended with the governing Arena party returned to office, falling support for the FMLN and high levels of abstention. The FMLN candidate -- former guerrilla leader Facundo Guardado -- was soundly beaten by his ideological and social opposite, Arena's Francisco Flores, a former university lecturer.</p> <p>The preliminary count released early this morning by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) gave 587,391 to the right-wing Republican Nationalist Alliance (Arena) and 327,879 to the left-wing Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN), allied to the Social Christian Union (USC).</p> <p>Arena was founded by the late Col. Roberto D'Abuisson -- a right-winger linked to the death squads that plagued El Salvador in the eighties -- while the FMLN arose from peasant and guerrilla groups that united to fight the army.</p>

			<p>Yesterday's elections also confirmed the rise of the United Democratic Center (CDU), backing former FMLN leader Ruben Zamora, becoming a third political force in El Salvador only two months after its foundation.</p> <p>Miguel Guirola, TSE underdirector of computing, told IPS the results are unofficial as yet, and that an official recount would be made this afternoon.</p> <p>However, he explained that, if the tendency is confirmed, Arena will have won the elections with 51.98 percent of the real vote, whereby a second round of run-off voting will not be necessary.</p> <p>The official recount ended early in the morning with 95.46 percent of votes scrutinized. The FMLN-USC coalition had 29.02 percent and the CDU 7.44.</p> <p>As was to be expected given the polls and the indifferent atmosphere which reigned in El Salvador during the four months of campaigning before the elections, abstention ran very high, at nearly 70 percent.</p> <p>However, it is difficult to calculate just how many stayed away, for while the electoral role has 3.2 million registered voters, around 900,000 are dead or out of the country.</p> <p>The dead have not been removed from the list because "legally they cannot be taken off. The problem is we have not technically located which are the dead individuals amongst many people of the same name," Feliz Ulloa, a TSE magistrate explained. A new census would be needed to resolve the situation.</p> <p>The University Institute of Public Opinion, in the Jesuit Central American University, stated last night that only between 35 and 40 percent of all Salvadorans registered in the electoral roll actually turned out to vote.</p> <p>And while Arena candidate Flores was already claiming triumph yesterday, his rival Guardado refused to accept defeat, claiming there could be a second round.</p> <p>The right-wing daily "Diario de Hoy" said that Arena's triumph showed the party had reacted rapidly following the 1997 municipal and legislative elections to avoid electoral disaster.</p> <p>In 1997, the FMLN took almost half the posts in Congress and the local governments of major cities -- including San Salvador -- from Arena.</p> <p>This result had led to forecasts of a triumph by the former guerrilla movement yesterday.</p> <p>However, according to Diario de Hoy, Arena pulled no punches this time, starting its election campaign a year ahead of voting day.</p>
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		<p>The ruling party managed to overcome internal struggles, presenting a public image of order since April 1998.</p> <p>A second factor considered by Diario de Hoy was the amount of money invested by Arena in polishing up Flores' image.</p> <p>Although in El Salvador party accounts are secret, some organizations estimate that Arena invested nearly \$ 20 million in the campaign, while the other parties spent only about \$ 1 million each.</p> <p>The FMLN, meanwhile, suffered internal conflict toward the end of 1998 between orthodox members and reformers trying to maintain an image of a democratic party choosing its representatives by an internal convention.</p> <p>But far from strengthening the party, the internal convention tore the party apart and Facundo Guardado had very little support with which to face the challenge of the elections.</p> <p>According to sources within the FMLN, only 60 percent of the militants worked in favor of Guardado's candidacy, which goes some way toward explaining his defeat. In March and April 1998, the polls stated the former guerrillas were neck and neck with Arena.</p> <p>"If now, before the campaign has even started, we are on an equal footing, there's no doubt we will win," said Guardado, then coordinator general of the party.</p> <p>But by the end of the campaign, Arena had a lead of more than 20 points in the polls - the same advantage shown in the election results.</p> <p>http://www.lexisnexis.com/lxacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18557014147&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18557014151&cisb=22_T18557014150&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8001&docNo=16</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>US congratulates El Salvador on “peaceful” elections 09 de maro de 1999. Agence France Presse</p> <p>The US congratulated the Salvadoran people and authorities Tuesday on the "free and fair" conduct of Sunday's presidential elections, calling it proof of the country's commitment to democracy.</p> <p>"The peaceful and orderly manner in which this election was carried out, with the participation of ten parties representing the entire political spectrum, is certain proof of El Salvador's commitment to a democratic process," US State Department James Rubin said in a statement.</p>
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			<p>Francisco Flores of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) won 52 percent of the vote Sunday in the second presidential election since a 12-year civil war ended in 1992.</p> <p>Flores, a 39-year-old economist and philosopher, has enough votes to avoid a runoff election according to the results recording more than 90 percent of the balloting. A final tabulation of the vote is not expected until later this week.</p> <p>Facundo Guardado of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), Flores' main challenger, received approximately 29 percent of the vote. Guardado conceded defeat on Monday.</p> <p>http://www.lexisnexis.com/lxacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18557014147&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultUrlKey=29_T18557014151&cisb=22_T18557014150&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=10903&docNo=13</p>
El Salvador 2004	1=0 2=0 3=0	Although, Schafik Handal conceded defeat, he refused to congratulate the elected president. The runner up candidate stated the victory was reached through fear and the tactics his opponent used attended against democracy.	<p>Election date: 21/03/2004 Winner: Elías Antonio Saca Runner-up candidate: Schafik Handal</p> <p>Los primeros resultados confirman el triunfo del derechista. Saca en las presidenciales salvadoreñas</p> <p>Lunes 21 de marzo de 2004. El país. “Los resultados preliminares difundidos por el Tribunal Supremo Electoral salvadoreño han confirmado la victoria del derechista Elías Antonio Saca, de la gubernamental Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), en los comicios presidenciales de ayer domingo en El Salvador. Con el 36% del voto escrutado, Saca ha obtenido el 59,99% de los votos, mientras que su principal adversario, Schafik Handal, del izquierdista Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), logra el 32,87%. El candidato del derechista Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN), Rafael Machuca, obtiene el 3,54% y el aspirante de una coalición de centroderecha, Hector Silva, el 3,6%. A la vista de los resultados provisionales, Schafik Handal ya ha reconocido su derrota, aunque se ha negado a felicitar a Saca. "Esta votación la consiguió ARENA con el método del miedo y eso es un atentado contra la democracia", ha denunciado el diputado del FMLN. (...)”</p>

			<p>Gana Saca en el Salvador Lunes 22 de marzo de 2004. Reforma La mayoría de los salvadoreños votó ayer a favor de la derechista Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (Arena) para convertir en el Presidente de El Salvador a su candidato, el empresario radiofónico Antonio Saca, negando así el poder al candidato del izquierdista Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, el ex comandante guerrillero Schafik Handal. (...) De acuerdo con el Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE), la de ayer fue una jornada histórica porque votaron 2 millones 165 mil salvadoreños de los 3.4 millones de empadronados, lo que representa un 63 por ciento de participación, en contraste con el 39 por ciento que se registró en los comicios de 1999.</p> <p>Handal, autodefinido como comunista, había anunciado su interés por relacionarse con Cuba y China; retirar las tropas salvadoreñas de Iraq; revisar el Tratado de Libre Comercio firmado con Estados Unidos, así como las privatizaciones de empresas paraestatales; volver a usar el colón como moneda, discontinuada por la decisión del Gobierno arenero de utilizar el dólar.</p> <p>"Reconocemos (las cifras) pero no lo felicitamos porque esta votación la ha construido Arena y el propio Saca con el método del miedo", dijo Handal.</p> <p>En las campañas, Arena explotó el miedo al comunismo, la posibilidad de un bloqueo de Estados Unidos similar al de Cuba y una restricción del envío de remesas si el FMLN llegaba al poder.</p> <p>En entrevista con REFORMA, un día antes de los comicios, el ahora Presidente electo manifestó su interés por intensificar sus relaciones con México. http://orion.cide.edu:2057/doc.html?pc=MX&sv=CORP&doc_id=54452925&auto=1&query=Schafik%3AHandal%3A&db=&hlc=es&range=range&fromdate=20040321000000&todate=20040324000000&sort_by=Date</p>
<p>El Salvador 2009</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>In 2009, the candidate from the Faramundo Martí National Liberation Front won the presidential election. Rodrigo Ávila, the runner up</p>	<p>Election date: 15/01/2009 Winner: Mauricio Funez Runner-up candidate: Rodrigo Ávila</p>

		<p>candidate, congratulated the elected president and wished him luck with his administration.</p>	<p>Acepta derrota electoral el candidato de la gobernante arena Domingo 15 de marzo de 2009. Notimex. “El candidato presidencial de la gobernante Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (Arena) de El Salvador, Rodrigo Avila, aceptó hoy su derrota ante su adversario del Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), Mauricio Funes.”</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2057/doc.html?pc=MX&sv=CORP&doc_id=212310001&auto=1&query=Rodrigo%3A%C3%81vila%3A&db=&hlc=e&range=range&fromdate=20090315000000&todate=20090317000000&sort_by=Date</p> <p>Felicita presidente salvadoreño a Funes por triunfo electoral Lunes 16 de marzo de 2009. Notimex. “El mandatario de El Salvador, Antonio Saca, y el ex candidato oficialista Rodrigo Avila felicitaron al izquierdista, Mauricio Funes, por su triunfo obtenido en las históricas elecciones del domingo. Funes, del ex guerrillero Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), informó este lunes en entrevistas a medios televisivos que Saca lo llamó por teléfono poco después de su mensaje de proclamación.</p> <p>“(…) Funes indicó que le planteó a Saca sus respetos como gobernante y que desde su posición como jefe de Estado electo colaborará para que exista una transición normal. "Yo esperaré de parte de él una colaboración similar para que pueda asumir bien mi mandato a partir del 1 de junio", apuntó el virtual ganador de los comicios salvadoreños. Funes contó que Saca le llamó: "presidente electo" y que él también respondió en tono de respeto. "Me parece muy bien, fue un intercambio, las palabras cuentan en estos momentos", acotó. (…) Funes manifestó que incluso bromeó con Saca, quien le prometió de regalo una caja de puros por su victoria, la cual, afirmó que estará esperando.</p> <p>Asimismo, Saca de inmediato le pasó el teléfono celular a Ávila, quien también en una forma más "parca en sus expresiones me dijo que él había garantizado que reconocería los resultados de las elecciones y por lo tanto me reconocía como presidente electo".</p>
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			<p>"Me deseó suerte para que pueda hacer un buen gobierno", comentó Funes un poco más relajado tras la intensa campaña vivida y en la cual Arena utilizó una propaganda de desprestigio para evitar que el FMLN llegara al poder (...)"</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2057/doc.html?pc=MX&sv=CORP&doc_id=212461473&auto=1&query=Rodrigo%3A%C3%81vila%3A&db=&hlc=es&range=rang e&fromdate=20090315000000&todate=20090317000000&sort_by=Date</p>
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Ghana 1979-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Ghana 1979	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Former ambassador Hilla Linmann won the election, and his primary competitor, Victor Owusu, immediately conceded and congratulated Linmann on his victory. Unfortunately, the Linmann's presidency was not to last long as Rawlings led another coup two years later.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 18 June 1979; run-off on 9 July 1979 <i>Winner:</i> Hilla Limann – People's National Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Victor Owusu – People's Front Party</p> <p>Former ambassador Hilla Limann was elected president of Ghana in run-off balloting Tuesday, Accra radio reported. He now must begin the delicate task of restoring civilian rule under the watchful eyes of a military junta. The broadcast from Ghana's capital said the other contender, former foreign minister Victor Owusu, conceded defeat and congratulated Limann on his victory in this west African country.</p> <p>Source: <i>The Ottawa Journal</i>. 11 July 1979. http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/43213822/.</p>
Ghana 1992	1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1	The 1992 election is considered to be the most controversial post-colonial election in Ghana. Albert Adu Boahen accused the winner, Rawlings, of electoral fraud and led the boycotting of the following parliamentary election. Transitional election [NOT INCLUDED IN THE DATASET]	<p><i>Election date:</i> 3 November 1992 <i>Winner:</i> Jerry John Rawlings – Progressive Alliance (Coalition of the National Democratic Congress, the National Convention party, and Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Albert Adu Boahen – New Patriotic Party</p> <p>Back in 1992, a controversy around the presidential election results created much tension and soured the political atmosphere for years. The then oppositional NPP claimed Rawling's victory electoral fraud and boycotted the subsequent legislative elections. Although incumbency abuse cannot be completely denied, it is reasonable to believe that Rawlings was the true winner.</p>

			<p>Source: Osei, Anja. "Political Parties in Ghana." Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2012: 100-169. http://link.springer.com/chaper/10.1007/978-3-531-19140-9_6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>When the ban on multiparty democracy was reluctantly lifted in Ghana in 1992, he became the presidential candidate for the liberal, property-owning New Patriotic Party (NPP), losing to Rawlings in what was perhaps Ghana's most controversial post-colonial election. Boahen led the boycott of the subsequent parliamentary election, and alleged ballot rigging, but in 1998 he lost the NPP's nomination to John Agyekum Kufuor, who led the party to electoral victory in 2000 and became president.</p> <p>Source: Agyeman-Duah, Ivor. Albert Adu Boahen: Historian Who Broke Ghanaian Dictator's Culture of Silence. <i>Guardian</i>, 1 June 2006. http://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/jun/02/guardianobituaries.mainsection3.</p>
Ghana 1996	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Although incumbency abuse is expected, the election of Jerry Rawlings was uncontested by the runnerup.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 December 1996 <i>Winner:</i> Jerry John Rawlings – National Democratic Congress <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Kufuor – New Patriotic Party (NPP)</p> <p>Although incumbency abuse cannot be completely denied, it is reasonable to believe that Rawlings was the true winner. When he was reelected in 1996 the results were not challenged by the opposition.</p> <p>Source: Osei, Anja. "Political Parties in Ghana." Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2012: 100-169. http://link.springer.com/chaper/10.1007/978-3-531-19140-9_6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Despite ethnic tensions and economic difficulties, Rawlings and his National Democratic Council (NDC) won another mandate in 1996. Rawlings retained the presidency with 57.4% of the vote. His nearest rival was John Kufuor of the NPP, who won a respectable 39.6%.</p> <p>Source: Dickovick, J. Tyler. <i>Africa 2013</i>. Rowman and Littlefield, 2013: 92.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p>John Kufuor had been defeated by Rawlings in the 1996 election and had graciously conceded defeat. Robert Edgerton. <i>Africa's Armies: From Honor to Infamy</i>. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp. 151</p> <p>http://books.google.com/books?id=6BIFcGaBWcEC&pg=PA151&lpg=PA151&dq=John+Kufuor+conceded+defeat+1996&source=bl&ots=LgtsEPpoFT&sig=PejERsVUwG4F8uZ2YcDYRuomrxk&hl=en&sa=X&ei=0h0GU-S9HrOFyQHoqYCYDw&ved=0CDwQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=John%20Kufuor%20conceded%20defeat%201996&f=false</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>The general mood following the election confirmed the fact that the contending political leaders had agreed upon the basic rules of electoral politics (NInsin 1998: 194). Unlike 1992, the defeated presidential candidates, Kufour and Mahama, conceded defeat and congratulated the winner; Rawlings in turn congratulated the losers for their competitive spirit. [p. 147]</p> <p>Boafo-Arthur, Kwame. 2007. <i>Ghana: One Decade of the Liberal State</i>. London: Codesria.</p> <p>http://books.google.com/books?id=hO6Fb-CN8UQC&pg=PA147&lpg=PA147&dq=John+Kufuor+conceded+defeat+ghana+1996+rawlings&source=bl&ots=pZRwDVJJ5e&sig=TBW9wVLcPtpHvd9iW9Mal-clryc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=7AxxU4yWD4y0yAT9p4KIAw&ved=0CEMQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=John%20Kufuor%20conceded%20defeat%20ghana%201996%20rawlings&f=false</p>
<p>Ghana 2000</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The NDC lost in 2000, and as a sign of its commitment to the development of Ghana's political system, John Atta Mills accepted the defeat and did not challenge the election of John Kufour.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 December 2000; run-off on 28 December 2000 <i>Winner:</i> John Kufuor – New Patriotic Party (NPP) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Atta Mills – New Democratic Congress</p> <p>Leadership turnover occurred in the 2000 elections when the NPP won a majority of parliamentary seats and its presidential candidate Kufour was elected as the head of state. Rawlings' NDC accepted the defeat and thereby proved its commitment to playing by the rules of the game.</p>

			<p>Source: Osei, Anja. "Political Parties in Ghana." Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2012: 100-169. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-531-19140-9_6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The 2000 elections were a momentous achievement for democracy in Ghana. Constitutionally prohibited from seeking a third term, Rawlings handpicked his vice president, John Evans Atta-Mills, to be his successor as NDC candidate. The NPP again nominated John Kufour, an Oxford-trained lawyer, businessman, and prominent member of the influential Asante tribe. Though marred by some violence, the vote count was generally fair and the NPP won 100 of the 200 parliamentary seats. Its presidential candidate, Kufuour, nearly won a first ballot victory, taking a lead of 48.44% to John Atta-Mills' 44.8%. In the runoff, all five minor candidates threw their support to Kufour, who won with impressive 57%. When Atta-Mills telephones his concession speech, Ghanaians could boast that their country had successfully achieved a rarity in Africa: the democratic transfer of power.</p> <p>Source: Dickovick, J. Tyler. <i>Africa 2013</i>. Rowman and Littlefield, 2013: 92.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>General News of Saturday, 30 December 2000 Source: Associated Press Mills Concedes Defeat</p> <p>ACCRA, Ghana (AP) - Ghana's vice president has conceded defeat to an opposition leader in the country's presidential election, signaling an orderly transition after a vote notable as much for the way it was held as for its result.</p> <p>John Atta Mills issued a statement Friday saying it was clear that John Agyekum Kuffuor had won Thursday's vote to succeed President Jerry Rawlings, a former dictator who dominated politics in Ghana for two decades.</p> <p>Mills congratulated Kuffuor. ``As an outgoing government, we pledge to make his transition into office as smooth as possible," he said.</p> <p>The election itself, and Mills' peaceful concession, mark a rare commitment to democratic change in West Africa, a region characterized by repressive leaders and flawed elections.</p>
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			<p>Kuffuor, a British-trained lawyer and longtime politician, thanked Mills for his "graciousness" and pledged to cooperate with his National Democratic Congress. And U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan (news - web sites), a Ghana native, commended the country's leaders and voters for "the transparent and peaceful manner in which the elections were conducted."</p> <p>"With these elections, Ghana has demonstrated that democracy and its institutions continue to take root in Africa," he said in a statement read by deputy U.N. spokesman Manoel de Almeida e Silva.</p> <p>There were scattered clashes and accusations of intimidation during the election. Opposition observers said they had been harassed by government supporters, who prevented them from monitoring voting at some polling stations in the capital, Accra, the nearby port city of Tema and the eastern Volta Region.</p> <p>http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=12862</p>
<p>Ghana 2004</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>John Atta-Mills did not concede defeat in the first days after the election; his party, the National Democratic Congress, asked for a vote recount given that Kufuor won with 52.45 % of the votes, a slight majority over the required 51% to avoid a runoff election. However the Electoral Commission turned down the request. On Friday December 10, Professor John Atta Mills, presidential candidate for the NDC congratulated President Kufuor for emerging victorious in the December 7 presidential election.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 December 2004 <i>Winner:</i> John Kufuor – New Patriotic Party (NPP) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Atta Mills – National Democratic Congress</p> <p>Prof. John Atta Mills, the defeated presidential candidate of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) said on Friday that he would make his views known in respect of the conduct and outcome of the elections after the final results had been declared...Prof. Mills commended all Ghanaians on their participation in the electoral process but expressed concern about the reported acts of intimidation and violence against NDC supporters.</p> <p>Source: "Mills Says He Will React to Elections Later." Ghana News Agency. 10 December 2004. http://www.modernghana.com/news/68229/1/mils-says-he-will-react-to-elections-later.html.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The December 2004 elections were a reprise of the matchup in 2000 of the NPP's Kufuor and John Atta Mills of the NDC. With strong world prices for cocoa and gold pushing Ghana's economic growth to over 5% a year and with substantial debt reduction from the World Bank and major Western donors, the economy basics favored the incumbent. President Kufuor won a solid 52.75% against John Atta-Mills, who won a respectable 44.32% of the vote; an impressive 83.2% of eligible</p>

			<p>voters turned out. Observers agreed the election was free and fair, an important consolidation of democracy for the country.</p> <p>Source: Dickovick, J. Tyler. <i>Africa 2013</i>. Rowman and Littlefield, 2013: 92.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Kufour was reelected in 2004 with 53 percent of the vote, followed by Atta Mills with 44 percent. The constitution requires a runoff between the top two candidates if the front-runner receives 51 percent of the vote or less in the first round. Given the proximity of Kufuor’s 53 percent to this limit, the NDC alleged irregularities and called for a vote recount, but the Electoral Commission turned down the request.</p> <p>Freedom in the World 2008: The Annual Survey of Political Rights & Civil Liberties. Lanhan, Maryland: Freedom House. Edited by Arch Puddington, Aili Piano, Camille Eiss, Katrina Neubauer, Tyler Roylance http://books.google.com/books?id=NyfGcDfu_XEC&pg=PA280&lpg=PA280&dq=John+Atta-Mills++conceded+defeat+2004&source=bl&ots=yK0UgiHozL&sig=x6ac8Bv9bIzWk_vnUXUOXNfks5I&hl=en&sa=X&ei=3R8GU72bK8ifyQHskID4DA&ved=0CE8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=John%20Atta-Mills%20%20conceded%20defeat%202004&f=false</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Action Troopers Robbed Me – Atta Mills Politics 16 January 2006 Last updated at 00:00 CET Modern Ghana</p> <p>Ex-Vice-President Prof John Evans Atta-Mills has said that he does not accept that he lost the 2004 elections and that his refusal to concede defeat has been justified by the recent confessions of Mr. Lord Commey that “Action Troopers” are used by the NPP to steal ballot boxes at gunpoint.</p> <p>“If you look at the recent revelations and all that, I do not accept that I did not win,” Prof. Mills said convincingly, adding” This buttresses the point that the elections were not free and fair.”</p> <p>“How do you talk about free elections when you have people who can even decided to remove the ballot boxes, cause confusion, so that the ballot boxes can disappear,” he asked. He added. It is recalled that during the 2004 elections there were incidents at Pru and Mion Constituencies where ballot box were set ablaze. There were also occasions where recounts of ballot boxes revealed that</p>
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			<p>those who were declared to have lost the elections ended up winning with wide margins after recounts. [...] Asked why he congratulated the President for winning the 2004 Presidential elections if he knew it was rigged, Prof. Mills said they could have protested by way of civil demonstrations but they were not ready for the consequences. He also accused the government and the NPP of usurping the functions of the regulator, and declaring itself winner in the election, before the Electoral Commission (EC) later reinforced it.</p> <p>http://www.modernghana.com/news/93451/1/action-troopers-robbed-me-atta-mills.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Subject President Kufuor Wins Ghana's Election Origin Embassy Accra (Ghana) Cable time Fri, 10 Dec 2004 13:50 UTC Classification CONFIDENTIAL Source http://wikileaks.org/cable/2004/12/04ACCRA2443.html</p> <p>C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ACCRA 002443</p> <p>SIPDIS</p> <p>E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/08/2014 TAGS: PGOV [Internal Governmental Affairs], PREL [External Political Relations], GH [Ghana] SUBJECT: PRESIDENT KUFUOR WINS GHANA'S ELECTION</p> <p>REF: A. A) ACCRA 7444 B) ACCRA 2366 B. C) ACCRA 2367 D) ACCRA 2390</p> <p>Classified By: PolChief Scott Ticknor for reasons 1.5 d and e.</p> <p>1. (U) Summary: The Electoral Commission has officially declared President John Kufuor the winner of the December 7 presidential election, with 52.7 percent of the vote (with 3 constituencies not yet confirmed). As of noon December 10, NDC candidate John Atta Mills had not yet conceded defeat.</p>
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			<p>The NPP won 129 out of 227 confirmed parliamentary seats. Post issued a congratulatory statement on the election results. End summary.</p> <p>3. (U) According to the EC, 8,615,306 ballots were cast, of which 183,997 were rejected (2.14 percent), leaving a total of 8,462,710 valid ballots. Kufuor won 4.46 million votes, compared to Mills' 3.75 million. The final voter turnout was 83.2 percent. The EC refused an NDC request for a recount of the rejected ballots.</p> <p>4. (U) On December 10, President Kufuor addressed the media acknowledging the EC's decision, thanking Ghanaians, and noting that his priorities for the next term are: good governance, human resource development, economic growth and reforms, and reconciliation in the troubled Dagbon area of Northern Region. As of noon December 10, Mills had not yet conceded defeat. http://www.cablegatesearch.net/cable.php?id=04ACCRA2443</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Press Review of Monday, 13 December 2004 Source: -- ISD News File, Monday Dec. 13, 2004</p> <p>PROFESSOR ATTA MILLS CONGRATULATES PRESIDENT KUFUOR</p> <p>Professor John Atta Mills, presidential candidate for the NDC has congratulated President Kufuor for emerging victorious in the December 7 presidential election.</p> <p>Professor Mills has also sent a message of goodwill to Mr. George Aggudey of CPP and Dr. Edward Mahama of PNC for participating in the contest.</p> <p>In a statement to the press in Accra on Friday, Professor Mills also acknowledged the contribution of Ghanaians and the staff of the Electoral Commission for the successful election. http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=71643</p>
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<p>Ghana 2008</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Fears of tension surrounded the election of 2008, as a means to prevent the outburst of violence the runner-up immediately conceded and congratulated Mills on his election. Additionally, both leaders appealed to their supporters to restrain from violence.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 December 2008; run-off on 3 January 2009 <i>Winner:</i> John Atta Mills – National Democratic Congress <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Nana Akufo-Addo – New Patriotic Party</p> <p>Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) on Saturday conceded victory to President-elect Prof. John Evans Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), saying, “I acknowledge the Electoral Commission’s declaration and congratulate Prof. Mills... Whilst appealing to his supporters to show restraint in the face of provocations by NDC supporters Nana Akufo-Addo urged Prof. Mills to condemn publicly, acts of violence and intimidation by his sympathizers and to take concrete steps to restrain them in order not to undermine the peace and stability of the nation. “Akufo-Addo Concedes Defeat.” Ghana News Agency. 3 Jan. 2009. http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=1555663.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>He defeated Nana Akufo-Addo, also a 64-year-old lawyer, who was the candidate of the New Patriotic Party. The party has governed Ghana for the past eight years. The runoff was held last Sunday, but disagreements over the balloting and counting delayed results, raising tensions and fears of violence. On district, Tain, voted Friday. But both candidates sought to ease tensions. According to Reuters, Mr. Akufo-Addo said, “I acknowledge the electoral commissioner’s declaration and congratulate Professor Mills.”</p> <p>Source: Polgreen, Lydia. “Opposition Leader is Declared the Winner of Ghana’s Presidential Election.” The New York Times, 3 Jan. 2009. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/04/world/africa/04ghana.html.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In 2008, Ghanaians witnessed the second peaceful democratic transition of power to the opposition as, John Evans Atta-Mills of the NDC won the presidential election in his third attempt. Kufour, prevented by term limits from running after two terms as president, passed on the NPP candidacy to Nana Akufo-Addo. Akufo-Addo actually took the lead in the first round and nearly won, with just over 49% of the vote to the 48% for Atta-Mills. In the second round runoff between the two men, however, most of the remaining votes broke for Atta-Mills, who ended with 50.23% to 49.77% for Akufo-Addo. Initial tensions after the cliffhanger vote quickly dissipated as Akufo-Addo accepted</p>
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			<p>the results and graciously agreed to attend Atta-Mills' inauguration. The election was deemed open and fair, reinforcing Ghana's reputation as one of the freest countries on the continent.</p> <p>Source: Dickovick, J. Tyler. <i>Africa 2013</i>. Rowman and Littlefield, 2013: 92.</p>
Ghana 2012	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>The New Patriotic Party accused the elected president, Mahama, of vote rigging and filed with the Supreme Court to overturn the decision. Protesters took to the streets before the results were announced, and the runner-up, Nana Akufo-Addo, has yet to concede to Mahama.</p> <p>3=0</p> <p>Not sure whether this should count as 1 since there appears to only have been an outbreak of violence before the results were revealed. Plus Jake Obetsebi Lamptey, the New Patriotic Party chairman, said: "We will not taking to the streets. We will go and pursue the matter in the Supreme Court," Lamptey said. Still, thousands of protesters gathered at a roundabout in Accra on Tuesday. "We were able to calm them down...and let them know they should support the leadership in its quest to find a peaceful resolution through the court," Lamptey said.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 and 8 December 2012 <i>Winner:</i> John Dramani Mahama – National Democratic Congress <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Nana Akufo-Addo – New Patriotic Party</p> <p>28 December 2012 Last updated at 12:16 ET Ghana election: NPP challenges John Mahama's victory Ghana's main opposition party has filed a petition at the Supreme Court to challenge President John Mahama's victory in this month's election.</p> <p>The New Patriotic Party (NPP) rejected the results of the 7 December poll, alleging fraud.</p> <p>The election commission said Mr Mahama had secured 50.7% of votes, enough to avoid a run-off against NPP candidate Nana Akufo-Addo with 47.7% of the vote</p> <p>International election observers described the poll as free and fair.</p> <p>Mr Akufo-Addo lost the 2008 presidential run-off by one percentage point, but accepted the result.</p> <p>Ghana is regarded as one of Africa's most stable democracies.</p> <p>'Mind-blowing' evidence The NPP said it had waited to file its challenge in court until it had analysed the data from 26,000 polling stations. It said it had now found irregularities such as cases of over voting and instances when people not registered by the new biometric finger-printing system were able to vote. The BBC's Sammy Darko in the capital, Accra, says the party has calculated that there were 1.34 million extra votes cast, which if withdrawn from the final tally would make Mr Akufo-Addo the winner.</p>

			<p>"We are ready to concede that in an election that involves more than 11 million voters there might be mistakes," said Mr Akufo-Addo after the petition was filed at Supreme Court in Accra.</p> <p>"But why are the arithmetic mistakes so very often in favour of the NDC presidential candidate, John Dramani Mahama?"</p> <p>The NPP leader said it had not been an easy decision to go ahead with the challenge, but the evidence submitted was "mind-blowing and came as a shock even to sceptics in the party".</p> <p>"This case is seeking to deepen our democracy by strengthening the institutions that are mandated by our constitution to superintend the electoral process," Mr Akufo-Addo said</p> <p>"One, by ensuring that the electoral commission is accountable to the people of Ghana; and two, the Supreme Court is seen by all as the ultimate arbiter of electoral grievances and disputes."</p> <p>Mr Mahama, from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party, was Ghana's vice-president until the unexpected death of President John Atta Mills in July catapulted him into office.</p> <p>Johnson Asiedu Nketia, the NDC's secretary general, said the governing party did not believe the Supreme Court would rule against them as the elections had been the country's most transparent ever.</p> <p>"We don't have any shred of doubt in our minds that President Mahama has been the choice," Mr Asiedu Nketia said.</p> <p>Our correspondent says the case will not affect Mr Mahama's swearing-in ceremony on 7 January. According to the constitution, the election commission's announced winner remains the legal leader until the Supreme Court rules otherwise.</p> <p>The election challenge case is expected to be heard in three weeks, our reporter says. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-20859813</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ajufo-Addo's opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) accused Mahama – a former vice president who took office in July after the death of President John Atta Mills – of rigging the Dec. 7 poll. The NPP said it was pushing ahead with a legal challenge to the election results. "We have filed an</p>
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			<p>action at the Supreme Court seeking to overturn the declaration of results so we don't want to be part of any event which is based on those results," said Nana Akomea, the party's director of communication. (Kpodo, Kwasi. "Ghana Opposition Boycotts President's Inauguration." <i>Reuters</i>. Thomason Reuters, 07 Jan. 2013. http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/01/07/ghana-mahama-inauguration-idUSL5E9C77WW20130107.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mahama won December's vote with 50.7 percent of the ballot but the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) had alleged fraud ranging from inflated tallies to the participation of unregistered voters. "The overall effect is the first respondent (Mahama) was validly elected and the petition is therefore dismissed," Justice Wiliam Atuguba, president of the nine-member panel, told a hearing." (Kpodo, Kwasi. "Ghana's Supreme Court Rejects Opposition Challenge to 2012 Vote." <i>Reuters</i>. Thomason Reuters, 29 Aug. 2013. http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/29/us-ghana-court-idUSBRE97S0MI20130829.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>"To accept this result is to discredit democracy in Ghana and, in the process, distort the process of democratization in Africa," the NPP said. "The ruling NDC conspired with certain EC staff in constituencies across the country to falsify the election results and thereby abuse the mandate of the people of Ghana," the party said. The party said in a statement on its website that in the northern Savelugu constituency, 31, 164 votes had been "falsely declared" for Mr Mahama when he had, in fact, obtained 21,165 votes. In another case, 15,000 votes were "illegally added" to Mr. Mahama's tally in Greater Accra's Dome Kwabenya constituency, it said. "Ghana Election: NPP Considers Challenge to John Mahama Win" <i>BBC</i>. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-20671298.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ghana riot police fired tear gas on Sunday to disperse more than 200 opposition supporters protesting in front of the election commission ahead of poll results. Youths carrying sticks and shouting "We want justice" had assembled there after a spokesman for the opposition National Patriotic Party said electoral workers had tampered with the results of a presidential election. Valdmanis, Richard. "Ghana Police Tear Gas Protesters Ahead of Poll Results." <i>Reuters</i>. Thomason Reuters, 9 Dec. 2012. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/12/09/us-ghana-elections-protest-idUSBRE8B90AM20121209.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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			<p>GHANA POLICE RAID OPPOSITION OFFICE By LAURA BURKE Dec. 12, 2012 6:06 AM EST Jake Obetsebi Lamptey, the New Patriotic Party chairman, said at least 16 men armed with M-16s and AK-47s raided an office Tuesday night where a vote recount was underway, and took laptops and documentation.</p> <p>"They brushed aside the security people who were assembled there, charged in on our workers, forced everybody who was there to lie flat on the floor face down, put their mobile phones away from them. And then they started to ransack the offices," Lamptey said.</p> <p>Ghana police spokesman Arthur Cephas said the police were acting on a tip that the party was stashing guns in the office and did not take anything from the site.</p> <p>"The police had a hint that some 20 macho men were stashing guns at the place. We needed to take action," Cephas said. "It turned out there weren't any arms."</p> <p>"It's regrettable that we're beginning to see the emergence of police methods for dealing with political disputes," said Akufo-Addo. "That's taking us back to bad old days of our history and I don't believe there is any support in Ghana for these kinds of actions," he told The Associated Press at his home late Tuesday night.</p> <p>[...] "We will not taking to the streets. We will go and pursue the matter in the Supreme Court," Lamptey said.</p> <p>Still, thousands of protesters gathered at a roundabout in Accra on Tuesday.</p> <p>"We were able to calm them down...and let them know they should support the leadership in its quest to find a peaceful resolution through the court," Lamptey said. But he said hardline supporters are ready to cause mayhem.</p> <p>"If we wanted violence, really and truly, it would be one word," Lamptey said. "All we have to do is say one word and then who knows what is going to happen in this country ... But we won't want violence. So that word is never going to be uttered by us." http://bigstory.ap.org/article/ghana-police-raid-opposition-office</p>
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Guatemala 1974-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>Guatemala 1974</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The presidential election of 1974 was full of irregularities. On ninth day after election day, official results were published and there was no candidate who could reach absolute majority. Congress designated the official candidate elected president. Counter to expectations, José Efraín Ríos Montt did not contest the decision of the Congress and accepted a job offer in the new government.</p>	<p>Election date: Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García - PID-MLN Winner: José Efraín Ríos Montt - Frente Nacional de Oposición Runner-up candidate: 03/03/1974</p> <p>“En un clima de violencia política en el que las amenazas, desapariciones forzadas, y asesinatos no faltaron, llegó el día de las elecciones. El primero de marzo de 1974 se realizó el sufragio popular que, al poco tiempo, de iniciado, daba como evidente ganador al general Ríos Montt.</p> <p>El Gobierno al percatarse de lo que estaba ocurriendo, suspendió cualquier tipo de información respecto de los comicios. Hubo un apagón de energía eléctrica que dejó en suspenso a la radio y a la televisión hasta un día después, cuando los noticieros reportaban una serie de datos y de cifras completamente distintas de los que habían divulgado poco más de 24 horas antes. Se materializó el fraude político que, según se sospechaba, había sido planeado meses atrás.</p> <p>A pesar de haber llamado a la “resistencia pacífica”, el general Ríos Montt fue incapaz de liderar el descontento popular. La coalición MLN-PID, en cambio, movilizó a 3 mil campesinos a la ciudad capital, con el objeto de intimidar cualquier manifestación en contra de los resultados electorales. Esto significó un duro golpe contra las expectativas de cambio político que abrigan muchos guatemaltecos.</p> <p>Nueve días después de las elecciones se revelaron los resultados electorales y poco más tarde, el Congreso de la República, al no haberse dado una mayoría absoluta, designó Presidente constitucional de la República para el periodo 1974-1978, en elección de segundo grado, al candidato oficial.</p> <p>Con un costo de 2 millones de quetzales invertidos en publicidad y después de 13 meses de una campaña electoral en exceso polarizada, el general Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García obtuvo el triunfo, gracias a la voluntad militar. Dejó atrás no sólo un alto porcentaje de abstención en la participación ciudadana, sino el descrédito de un sistema político sujeto a la manipulación y al fraude.</p>

			<p>El general Ríos Mott, por su parte, aceptó la oferta del nuevo gobierno para pasar al servicio diplomático, como agregado militar de la embajada de Guatemala en España. Nadie se explicaba cómo una figura política respaldada masivamente se había plegado al poder político que tanto había criticado”.</p> <p>Source: Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales, <i>Compendio de Historia de Guatemala</i>, (Ciudad de Guatemala: Asies, 2004), 50. - 0 -</p> <p>“Because Ríos Montt held the rank of Brigadier General and had a fine reputation as director of the <i>Escuela Politécnica</i>, both he and the Christian Democrats thought the military would permit a clean election. He accepted the offer and returned to Guatemala. By most accounts, he won the election, but the military's hand-picked candidate, General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud Garcia, was instead proclaimed the victor. Claiming that any protests in his favor would result in unnecessary bloodshed, Ríos Montt did not contest the outcome and accepted the new government's offer to have him serve as its military attaché in Madrid.(...)”</p> <p>Source: Lee Penyak. “Rios Montt and Guatemala's Military: The Politics of Puppetry”. <i>Revista de Historia de América</i>. No. 108. (1989): 137. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20139693</p>
Guatemala 1978	1=1 2=1 3=1	In 1978, Guatemalan election was leaded by military candidates. The official results were published three days after election day. The figures conceded first place to Fernando Romeo Lucas García, nevertheless no candidate won 50% of the vote and Congress had to choose. The day the results were published, the runner up candidate, Enrique Peralta, bursted into the office of the Electoral Tribunal with 20 armed man. Peralta established he would not accept the results, he had denounced alleged vote-rigging against him and charged fraud in vote counting.	<p>Election date: 05/03/1978 Winner: Fernando Romeo Lucas García - PID-PR-CAO Runner-up candidate: Enrique Peralta Azurdia - MLN</p> <p>20 armed men Guatemalan colonel invades vote tribunal Marth 8th, 1978. The Globe and Mail. Right-wing presidential candidate Enrique Peralta Azurdia burst into the offices of Guatemala's electoral tribunal here yesterday with 20 armed men only minutes after learning he had lost his lead in the tally of Sunday's election ballots. The figures released by the tribunal, the first since last night, gave government-supported candidate Romeo Lucas Garcia 230,532 votes, compared to 230,020 for Col. Peralta Azurdia. Witnesses said the colonel's men, brandishing pistols and sub-machine guns, kicked open the door of the electoral registry and marched into the office of the head of the tribunal. They said Col. Peralta Azurdia, who headed a military government here for three years after a coup in 1963, was not carrying a gun openly. The head of the tribunal, Maldonado de le Cerda, is a member of the</p>

			<p>extreme rightist National Liberation Movement, the party which backs Col.Peralta Azurdia. There was a similar armed incursion at the electoral tribunal early yesterday by MLN chief Mario Sandoval Alarcon, the country's outgoing vice-president.</p> <p>While about 20 armed men accompanied the colonel into the election headquarters building, a crowd of about 250 people, most of them armed, waited in the street outside. One of Col. Peralta Azurdia's men said the colonel took the action to denounce alleged vote-rigging against him in the Alta Verapaz district by supports of Gen. Lucas Garcia.</p> <p>He also charged the official coalition with attempting to stop him from taking power. One witness to the incursion was Gen. Lucas Garcia's running mate, Francisco Villagran Kramer, who commented: 'This is no place for armed men. Let us use intelligence not force.'</p> <p>He opened his jacket to show he was not carrying a gun, while Col.Peralta Azurdia's men kept everyone in the building covered with sub-machine guns.</p> <p>Guatemalan Election March 11th, 1978. The New York Times. Gen Romeo Lucas Garcia, former Defense Minister, emerges as apparent victor in March 5 Guatemalan presidential elections, though his two opponents Gen Ricardo Peralta Mendez and Col Enrique Peralta Azurdia continue to charge fraud in vote counting. Unofficial returns give Lucas 262,960 votes, compared with 221,233 for Peralta Azurdia and 167,890 for Peralta Mendez. Guatemala's 61-member Congress must now choose next president because no candidate won 50% of vote. Political analysts note that Lucas might still be defeated by Peralta Azurdia, who headed Government from '63 to '66, but add that Lucas is favored by current Pres Kjell Laugerud Garcia and military leadership (M).</p> <p>“Para las elecciones programadas en Marzo de 1978, el PID se alió con el PR, para apoyar la candidatura del ministro de la Defensa, general Romeo Lucas García (...) El MLN, postuló las candidaturas del ex jefe de Estado, coronel Enrique Peralta Azurdia y del médico Héctor Aragón Quiñónez. Según informaciones de la época, este binomio fue el que realmente ganó las elecciones (...). Nuevamente fue el Congreso de la República el encargado de refrendar, en la elección de segundo grado, la victoria de Lucas sobre Peralda Azurdia. La actividad electoral transcurrió en un ambiente de violencia e inseguridad (...)”</p> <p>Source: Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales, <i>Compendio de Historia de Guatemala</i>, (Ciudad de Guatemala: Asies, 2004), 50.</p>
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<p>Guatemala 1982</p>	<p>1=1 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The official outcome of presidential Guatemalan election of 1982 conceded first place to the official candidate Angel Anibal Guevara. None of the candidates could reach absolute majority and Congress was suppose to choose the next president. The other three candidates declared they would contest election results, but were detained while they were marching to the presidential palace to present their charges for electoral fraud. The charges were never presented.</p> <p>Two weeks after election day, Efraín Ríos Montt, an army general who was presidential candidate in 1974, orchestrate a military coup, deposed current president and stated a military junta. Ríos Montt governed during sixteen months until he was overthrown by his minister of defense through a military coup.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 07/03/1982 <i>Winner:</i> Ángel Aníbal Guevara – FDP <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Mario Sandoval Alarcón - MLN</p> <p>Guatemala regime claims victory in election March 10th, 1982. The New York Times. Victory in Sunday's presidential election was claimed today by the Government's candidate, and his three opponents were detained by the police as they were marching to the presidential palace to present what they said was evidence of fraud.</p> <p>They had demanded that the elections be annulled and had called on their supporters to stage a mass protest in front of the palace, an action that the Government warned was illegal and would not be tolerated.</p> <p>The three candidates, all conservatives like Gen. Angel Anibal Guevara, the nominee backed by the Government, were intercepted by the police shortly after 5 P.M. and taken to a police station. They reportedly were set free an hour later.</p> <p>About 200 people tried to enter the park in front of the palace to stage their protest but were prevented from doing so by policemen carrying automatic weapons and using tear gas. Shortly before 5 P.M. busloads of policemen had moved into the area, and they were reinforced by heavily armed individuals in civilian clothes.</p> <p>A woman among the protesters was struck in the face with an automatic pistol, and a man in a business suit was knocked down. Several other civilians were clubbed and taken away by car. Four U.S. Journalists Detained</p> <p>Four American television journalists, including Geraldo Rivera of ABC, were detained for about 30 minutes and released. Soldiers patrolled the area in jeeps mounted with machine guns, and some sporadic shooting was heard. Earlier in the day, General Guevara said at a news conference: "We have won these elections freely and cleanly through hard work. I am going to defend my triumph in the streets, if necessary." He spoke shortly before the Election Commission announced results from 265 of the 327 electoral municipalities. They showed that the general continued to lead with 37 percent of the vote, polling 270,017 votes.</p> <p>Second was Mario Sandoval Alarcon of the National Liberation Movement, an extreme right-wing group, with 201,017 votes. Alejandro Maldonado Aguirre of the National Renovation and Christian Democratic Parties was third, with 175,842 votes. Gustavo Anzueto Vielman of the Authentic Nationalist Party was fourth with 72,108 votes. Decision Up to Congress</p>
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			<p>had brought only "a change in the facade" and vowed to fight on. Fighting between left and right and murders by extremist "death squads" have been killing 300 people a month. The junta leader, a 1974 presidential candidate whose oratorical style hovers in the high decibels, apparently outshouted junior officers - including former students from his stint as head of the military academy - who actually executed the coup. "Eight years ago, they cheated us!" shouted the general, "Four years ago, they cheated us! Now, just a few days ago, they cheated us again!" Among those shut out of the presidential palace last week was Lionel Sisniga Otero, a rightist politician who first told Guatemalans that another coup was in progress. United States officials have been concerned about Guatemala's potential as a shaky domino whose fall could spill leftist violence into neighboring Mexico. They had had wind of coup plotting since January and at first saw a chance for a takeover by moderates. Reforming Guatemala's abysmal human rights performance might persuade Congress, they reasoned, to resume military aid needed to combat guerrillas. But Administration strategy was set back by this month's flawed election. Last week's coup didn't help. "General Guevara was six times the statesman that General Rios Montt is," said a North American in Guatemala City.</p>
<p>Guatemala 1985</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The Guatemalan presidential election held in 1985 gave victory to the first civilian elected president in 15 years. Marco Vinico Cerezo won second round with 68 percent of the votes, his main competitor, Jorge Carpio, congratulated him and declared he would work with the new government for the good of Guatemala.</p>	<p>Election date: 08/12/1985 Winner: Marco Vinico Cerezo Arévalo - DCG Runner-up candidate: Jorge Carpio Nicolle - UCN</p> <p>Centrist wins big in Guatemala Vote. Tuesday, December 10, 1985. The New York Times. The Christian Democratic leader, Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, swept to election today as Guatemala's first civilian President in 15 years. Final results announced by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal gave Mr. Cerezo 68 percent of the valid votes to 32 percent for his opponent, Jorge Carpio Nicolle of the National Union of the Center. Mr. Cerezo was officially reported to have polled 1,133,517 votes, more than any other candidate in Guatemalan history. An estimated 73 percent of eligible voters went to the polls.</p> <p>'An End to the Past' In an extraordinary scene, Mr. Carpio congratulated Mr. Cerezo and offered to work with him "for the good of Guatemala." Guatemala's last three presidential elections have been won by military officers amid rancor and charges of electoral fraud. But today, Mr. Carpio asserted, "Guatemala has found its way." "What is important is that we have put an end to a past that we could no longer continue," Mr. Carpio said. "We have to end violence in Guatemala." Alfonso Cabrera Hidalgo, a close associate of Mr. Cerezo's who is Secretary General of the Christian Democrats, appeared on national television</p>

			<p>as the results became clear to appeal to Guatemalans to "give us a hand" in the coming months. He said the country has suffered "a deterioration of our moral values" in past years.</p> <p>Wealth Highly Concentrated Unemployment and poverty are widespread, wealth is highly concentrated, and tens of thousands of families have been affected by political violence that has continued for more than 30 years. Opposition leaders have been the most publicized victims of political terror in Guatemala, but they are hardly the most numerous. Thousands were trade union activists, liberal businessmen and students and faculty from the University of San Carlos. In the countryside, Government troops are engaged in a counterinsurgency campaign that has taken many thousands of lives since it began a quarter of a century ago. Human rights groups have alleged that the army has been responsible for massacres in many Indian villages, and since military rule began in 1954, Guatemala has been portrayed in some quarters as one of the Western world's worst human rights violators.</p> <p>A Free Election The departing military Government, however, favored no candidate in Sunday's election and allowed a free hand to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, which was selected by a committee of Bar Association leaders and law school deans. The chief of state, Gen. Oscar Mejia Victores, has pledged to support the transition to civilian rule. "We must congratulate General Victores for keeping his word and respecting the will of the people," Mr. Cerezo said. European and American election observers also praised the fairness of the election and predicted that foreign aid for Guatemala would increase after Mr. Cerezo takes office next month. A leading Christian Democratic spokesman, Luis Martinez Montt, said today that the new Government's task would be "to reconstruct what others have destroyed."</p> <p>Rivals Stand Together Mr. Carpio, the new opposition leader, said his party would maintain "a constructive, vigorous and critical opposition" to the new Christian Democratic Government. "We will applaud when you are right and criticize when you make mistakes," he said. "God save Guatemala, and may Guatemala be beginning a period of a series of democratic regimes." Mr. Cerezo, standing at his side, beamed and nodded his head while listening to his rival's statements. "At this moment, I am extremely proud of the democratic leaders of Guatemala," Mr. Cerezo told the emotional crowd at the headquarters of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. "We are forgetting the competition and beginning to work for the good of Guatemala."</p> <p>“El gobierno convocó a elecciones presidenciales para el mes de noviembre d 1985, en las que participaron doce partidos políticos con ocho candidatos. La victoria electoral en segunda vuelta</p>
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			<p>fue para la DCG, con su candidato Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo, quien era acompañado por Roberto Carpio Nicolle, postulado para la vicepresidencia (...).</p> <p>Por primera vez en los últimos veinticinco años, el Presidente y diputados al Congreso fueron electos de una forma limpia, más allá de cualquier sospecha de fraude, bajo la guía de un Tribunal Supremo honorable y eficiente (...)"</p> <p>Source: Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales, <i>Compendio de Historia de Guatemala</i>, (Ciudad de Guatemala: Asies, 2004), 68.</p>
<p>Guatemala 1991</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The second round of the presidential Guatemalan election was held on January 1991. Jorge Antonio Serrano Elías, a political outsider and an ally of Efraín Ríos Montt (a former military dictator), won the presidency with 68 percent of the votes. Jorge Carpio, the runner up candidate, recognized the victory of his opponent the day after election day.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 06/01/1991 <i>Winner:</i> Jorge Antonio Serrano Elías — Movimiento de Acción Solidaria (MAS) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jorge Carpio Nicolle — Unión del Centro Nacional (UCN)</p> <p>Right-Wing Protestant Elected President of Guatemala January 8, 1991. A right-wing businessman who ran on a law-and-order platform with support from evangelical Christians emerged today as the overwhelming victor in voting for President in Guatemala. The businessman, Jorge Serrano Elias, an ally of a popular former dictator, Gen. Efraim Rios Montt, rode a protest vote to victory in Sunday's runoff election after General Rios Montt was declared ineligible as a candidate. Mr. Serrano defeated Jorge Carpio Nicolle, a right-wing newspaper publisher, by a two-to-one margin. Mr. Serrano, who like General Rios Montt is an evangelical Christian, told a victory rally Sunday night: "We are not alone. God is with us. He'll help us move ahead." Inauguration Next Week Mr. Serrano is to be inaugurated on Monday in the first transfer of power from one Guatemalan civilian to another. General Rios Montt came to power in a coup in 1982 and later named himself President. With 98 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Serrano led with 68 percent of the votes compared with 32 percent for Mr. Carpio, the leader in the first round of voting. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal today said the remaining votes could not alter the result and officially declared Mr. Serrano the winner. While the election was widely hailed as furthering democracy in Guatemala, it also reflected Guatemalans' growing frustration. Five years ago, the election of Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo as the first civilian President in almost two decades was greeted with jubilation after years of dictatorship. Troubles of Incumbent</p>

			<p>But Mr. Cerezo never fulfilled the high expectations that his election inspired. He was unable to curb the power of the army, human rights abuses by the authorities resumed and almost uninterrupted recession battered the economy.</p> <p>An unsuccessful coup attempt two years ago, the first of two, weakened Mr. Cerezo's government. His goal in the last two years, he said, was nothing more than to finish his term and hand over power to an elected successor.</p> <p>Many Guatemalans, embittered by a rising crime wave, longed for authoritarian government, making General Rios Montt the front-runner in November's campaign. But two weeks before the voting, the Supreme Court struck his name from the ballot under a constitutional provision that bars former dictators from returning to power. A Close Second</p> <p>Serrano elected in Guatemala January 8, 1991. The independent.</p> <p>JORGE SERRANO won Guatemala's presidential run-off election between two right-wing businessmen. Jorge Carpio Nicolle, a 58-year-old newspaper publisher, conceded defeat yesterday, and promised to act as a loyal but watchful opposition to President- elect Jorge Serrano, who received some 68 per cent of the votes cast.</p> <p>Mr Serrano, 45, an engineer and property developer, was the favourite to win after he secured the backing of the former president, Efraim Rios Montt, who was barred by the courts from standing himself because he had come to power in 1982 by unlawful means (a military coup). Mr Serrano was a senior member of General Rios Montt's government.</p> <p>Like the general, Mr Serrano is a born-again Christian evangelist, who enjoys some support among the rural and urban poor, the "marginal" classes traditionally excluded from formal politics. "I am beholden to no sectors of power, only to God, who gave me life and protected me, and my people, who have given me the presidency," he said. Abstention was, however, very high; only about 50 per cent of the 3.2 million electorate turned out to vote.</p> <p>Mr Serrano's most immediate and difficult task will be to exert his authority over the military, which is traditionally the arbiter of Guatemalan politics. To stand any chance of doing so he will have to solve the 30-year-old left-wing insurgency. He is well qualified for the job, having served on a non-official commission that held preliminary talks with the guerrillas last year</p>
<p>Guatemala 1996</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The second round of the Guatemalan presidential election of 1996 was regularly held. Alvaro Arzu defeated</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 07/01/1996 <i>Winner:</i> Álvaro Enrique Arzu Irigoyen — Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN)</p>

		<p>Alfonso Portillo, who belonged to the party created for Efraín Ríos Montt, a former military dictator. Portillo recognized his defeat and declared he would play an important role in opposition.</p>	<p><i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Alfonso Portillo Cabrera — Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG)</p> <p>Guatemalan poll winner warns army January 9, 1996. The independent</p> <p>Alvaro Arzu, a businessman and candidate of the National Advancement Party, defeated his only opponent, Alfonso Portillo of the Guatemalan Republican Front, by 51 to 49 per cent in Sunday's second-round run-off, writes Phil Davison. "We will not allow the army or any other nucleus of power . . . to act beyond their boundaries and the role for which they were created," Mr Arzu said as Mr Portillo, a surrogate candidate for the former military ruler General Efraín Ríos Montt, conceded defeat.</p> <p>Business man is elected president of Guatemala January 9, 1996. The Philadelphia Inquirer.</p> <p>Businessman Alvaro Arzu has narrowly won Guatemala's presidential election, edging out his controversial populist opponent, Alfonso Portillo, electoral authorities said yesterday. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal said final results of Sunday's election showed that Arzu, of the right-wing National Advancement Party (PAN), had received 51.22 percent of the ballots to 48.78 for Portillo, who was seen as the front man for Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, the feared former military dictator.</p> <p>Ríos Montt, an evangelist, is accused by human rights groups of killing thousands of indigenous peasants during his regime in the 1980s. Voter turnout was low. Bomb threats, dirty tricks and general disillusion with the candidates kept many voters at home. The Tribunal said 63 percent of the 3.7 million eligible voters failed to cast ballots. In the capital, nails littered highways in what police described as an attempt to sabotage efforts to vote. Cars with punctured tires were abandoned on the sides of roads. Arzu yesterday began revealing his plans for government, promising to rein in the powerful army and respect human rights. "We will not allow the army, or any other nucleus of power in the country, to act beyond their boundaries and role for which they were created," he told reporters. Arzu said PAN would announce its cabinet tomorrow, and planned to introduce immediately a 180-day plan to tackle soaring crime, a top voter concern. Arzu's rival, lawyer and economist Portillo, said he was going to his native province of Zacapa to drink beer with his friends. "We will play a constructive role in opposition," Portillo said.</p>
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<p>Guatemala 1999</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>In 1999, the candidate from the party created by José Efraín Ríos Mont, a former military dictator, won the presidential election. The runner-up candidate recognized the victory of Alfonso Portillo and declared he hoped the Guatemalan people had not committed a mistake.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 26/12/1999 <i>Winner:</i> Alfonso Portillo - Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Óscar Berger - Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN)</p> <p>Rightist Holds Strong Lead in Guatemala Presidential Election Lunes 27 de diciembre de 1999. New York Times. “A Guatemalan opposition candidate whose party was created by a former military dictator appeared headed for a landslide victory in a runoff vote for president, preliminary official results showed tonight. With just over 14 percent of the national vote counted, Alfonso Portillo of the right-wing Guatemalan Republican Front had 62.1 percent of the vote against 37.9 percent for Oscar Berger of the ruling pro-business Party for the National Advancement, electoral officials said. Mr. Portillo, a charismatic former university professor and the son of a rural teacher, claimed victory late tonight. "I thank God and the people for the support they have given me," Mr. Portillo said. "I will live up to the expectations that the people have placed on me." Mr. Berger, meanwhile, conceded defeat before downcast supporters. "I hope the Guatemalan people have not made a mistake," he said (...)"http://www.nytimes.com/1999/12/27/world/rightist-holds-strong-lead-in-guatemala-presidential-election.html</p> <p>GUATEMALA: Presidente electo plantea pacto de gobernabilidad Lunes 27 de diciembre de 1999. SEDEPRESS, Inter Press Service “El presidente electo de Guatemala, Alfonso Portillo, planteó a sus adversarios un pacto de gobernabilidad sobre la base de los acuerdos de paz que pusieron fin en diciembre de 1996 a 36 años de guerra civil. Portillo, candidato del derechista Frente Republicano Guatemsegunda ronda electoral del domingo, afirmó que dará a conocer sus primeras medidas de gobierno cuando asuma, el 14 de enero (...) Las elecciones del domingo transcurrieron con normalidad y con un menor número de votantes que en la primera vuelta, realizada el 6 de noviembre. La participación alcanzó a 41,07 por ciento de los 4,5 millones de ciudadanos habilitados, porcentaje que en la primera vuelta fue de 53.76 por ciento. Oscar Berger, candidato del gobernante Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN), reconoció el triunfo de Portillo, lo felicitó y le exhortó a hacer un buen gobierno. "Reconocemos el triunfo del FRG y</p>

			<p>de Alfonso Portillo. Pienso que tienen una tarea muy fuerte pero esperamos que sea fiel a las promesas que hizo en la campaña electoral", dijo Berger. El candidato oficialista agregó que, pese a su derrota, el domingo triunfó el pueblo porque se fortaleció el proceso democrático. "Nosotros, ahora, vamos a ver para adelante. Creo que tal vez este cambio lo necesitaba Guatemala, pero nosotros volveremos dentro de cuatro años para seguir la lucha", dijo Berger. La segunda vuelta de las elecciones presidenciales concluyó sin que se hayan reportado incidentes, informó el Tribunal Supremo Electoral.</p> <p>Pero el acto se desarrolló en un día frío y en un fin de semana de festejos navideños, lo que impidió una mayor afluencia a las urnas. Los comicios estuvieron bajo la supervisión de más de 600 observadores internacionales y nacionales y con la vigilancia de 30.000 policías y soldados.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2057/doc.html?pc=MX&sv=CORP&doc_id=24584831&auto=1&query=%C3%93scar%3ABerger%3A&db=&hlc=es&range=range&fromdate=19991206000000&todate=20000106000000&sort_by=Date</p> <p>0</p> <p>El partido de Ríos Montt impugna las elecciones en Guatemala, a pesar de haberlas ganado Martes 9 de noviembre de 1999. El país.</p> <p>“El partido del general Efraín Ríos Montt tendrá que esperar un poco más para alzarse con la presidencia de Guatemala. El candidato del Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG) logró en las elecciones generales del domingo una victoria indiscutible sobre su contrincante del gubernamental Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN), pero no el ansiado triunfo en primera vuelta. Conclusión: el FRG anuncia que va a impugnar los resultados en la capital por fraude.</p> <p>Con el 92% de los votos escrutados, Alfonso Portillo, del FRG, ha obtenido un 47,82% de los votos, seguido del panista Óscar Berger, con un 30%, y de la coalición de izquierda Alianza Nueva Nación, con un 12%. En un intento desesperado por impedir nuevos comicios, el FRG pidió ayer la anulación de las elecciones en la capital. El FRG ha ganado en todos los departamentos del país salvo en la capital, que es determinante, donde el PAN le supera por 5.000 votos. Para poder ganar en primera vuelta se necesita el 50% más uno de los votos válidos. Portillo ha estado cerca, pero el recuento casi definitivo confirma la necesidad de una nueva elección, prevista para el 26 de diciembre.</p> <p>Los hechos no impidieron que el candidato del FRG se declarase en la mañana de ayer "presidente electo" y anunciara que ya prepara un Gabinete comprometido "con los de abajo". Sin embargo, haciendo un alarde de aparente prudencia, añadió: "Creemos que no habrá segunda vuelta. Pero hay que tener humildad y madurez. Y si quieren otro knock out, también se lo daremos el 26 de diciembre".</p>
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			<p>La ambigüedad del discurso quedó de manifiesto horas después, cuando el escrutinio puso en evidencia la necesidad de la segunda vuelta. El FRG anunció entonces que impugnaría la votación en la capital. Para entonces, centenares de seguidores de Portillo, arengados por sus dirigentes, habían tomado la sede del Tribunal Supremo Electoral, en una clara maniobra de presión. "Esperamos oír cómo declaran a Portillo presidente", gritaban. (...)"</p>
<p>Guatemala 2003</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>On December 12th of 2003, Óscar Berger was elected to be the next Guatemalan President and offered his closer contender, Álvaro Colom, a place in his administration. Colom conceded defeat but rejected getting involved with the new government.</p>	<p>Election date: 28/12/2003 Winner: Óscar Berger de la Gran Alianza Nacional (PP-MR-PSN) Runner-up candidate: Álvaro Colom - Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE)</p> <p>Álvaro Colom reconoce derrota y rechaza unirse a nuevo Gobierno Lunes 29 de diciembre de 2003. La crónica.</p> <p>“El candidato presidencial Alvaro Colom reconoció hoy la derrota que sufrió este domingo en las urnas y descartó integrarse al gobierno del presidente electo de Guatemala, Oscar Berger. En una breve conferencia de prensa, Colom señaló que formar parte del gobierno entrante sería traicionar a la población de más de un millón de guatemaltecos que votaron en su favor y rechazaron la opción Berger. Aclaró que la alianza entre su partido y el de Berger, para trabajar juntos en el Congreso como lo propuso el presidente electo, dependerá de la decisión de la directiva de su colectivo, la Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE). Colom evitó anoche reconocer la victoria de Berger pese que la tendencia de la votación se dirigía en ese sentido. La UNE convocó este lunes a una rueda de prensa en un hotel capitalino, pero al final Colom se limitó a emitir una breve declaración pública, sin permitir consultas de los periodistas (...).”</p> <p>http://www.cronica.com.mx/notas/2003/101451.html</p> <p>“(...) The smooth functioning of democracy further requires the routinization of the "losers' consent" at each electoral cycle (Anderson 2005). In Guatemala, losers of elections have, since 1985, consistently accepted the validity of official results, something that cannot be said of the political class in other countries of the region. Prominent electoral losers, such as Cerezo, Portillo, Arzu, Berger, or Colom, have not questioned official final vote counts or the integrity or transparency of the Tribunal Supremo Electoral, the country's highest electoral authority. To be sure, Rios Montt's infamous "Black Thursday" plot constitutes a prominent case where the electoral process itself was not respected (...).”</p>

			<p>Source: Sánchez, Omar. "Guatemala's Party Universe: A Case Study in Underinstitutionalization." <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i>. no. 1 (2008): 135-136. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30130841</p>
<p>Guatemala 2007</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The election of 2007 was characterized by the lack of participation of Guatemalans. Perez Molina accepted his defeat and agreed to become an opposition leader for the wellbeing of Guatemala.</p>	<p>Election date: 04/11/2007 Winner: Álvaro Colom - UNE Runner-up candidate: Otto Pérez Molina – Partido Patriota</p> <p>Los guatemaltecos dan la espalda a las urnas Domingo 4 de noviembre de 2007.</p> <p>“La muy escasa asistencia a las urnas ha caracterizado, a pocas horas del cierre de los centros de votación, la jornada electoral en la que los guatemaltecos eligen a su próximo presidente. Tanto las autoridades guatemaltecas como los observadores nacionales e internacionales han destacado, dentro de un ambiente de normalidad, la muy baja afluencia a las urnas y han hecho llamamientos a la población para que acuda a votar. (...) Pérez Molina, candidato del Partido Patriota (PP), al ejercer su derecho al sufragio en un centro de votación de la capital, se ha declarado confiado en ganar las elecciones y ha asegurado que respetará el resultado que emita el Tribunal Supremo Electoral. El ex militar, de 56 años, ha dicho que la jornada transcurre con normalidad, aunque denunció un intento de "compra de votos" por parte de su oponente en algunas comunidades del oeste del país. Colom, candidato de la Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE), quien también ha votado en la capital, ha asegurado que ganará estas elecciones por una margen entre el 3 y el 7% sobre su rival.” http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2007/11/04/actualidad/1194130801_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>El fantasma del fraude Lunes 5 de noviembre 2007. El universal. “¿Fraude electoral en Guatemala? “No”, responde Claudia García, de 40 años y presidenta de la mesa de votación uno en el Instituto Rafael Aqueche, en el corazón de la capital guatemalteca, poco después de que las urnas fueran abiertas ayer en la mañana para la segunda ronda de los</p>

			<p>comicios presidenciales en Guatemala entre el ingeniero socialdemócrata Álvaro Colom y el general retirado de derecha Otto Pérez. Pérez, del Partido Patriota (PP), y Colom, de la Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE), reafirmaron que aceptarán el resultado del Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE), tras semanas de una campaña “sucía” que tampoco cesó ayer y hubo aislados incidentes (...)”</p> <p>http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/internacional/55919.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Colom gana presidencia de Guatemala; Pérez Molina acepta derrota Lunes 5 de noviembre 2007. The Associated Press.</p> <p>“El candidato Alvaro Colom ganó las elecciones presidenciales con la promesa de erradicar la pobreza en Guatemala, de acuerdo con los resultados preliminares de las elecciones del domingo. Colom venció al general retirado Otto Pérez Molina, quien aceptó la derrota ante el conteo de casi el 97% de las mesas electorales que lo colocaban con una desventaja de casi seis puntos porcentuales. "Soy el presidente electo de la nación", declaró Colom, del partido centro-izquierdista Unión Nacional de la Esperanza, ante simpatizantes que lo aclamaban. Pérez Molina, del Partido Patriota, reconoció la derrota luego de enterarse de que con el 96,96% de las mesas de sufragio contadas Colom lo superaba por 5,5%, o más de 147.000 votos. "Dijimos que íbamos a respetar los resultados y la voluntad del pueblo de Guatemala. Vamos a estar en la oposición... hoy perdimos una batalla pero no hemos perdido la guerra", dijo Pérez Molina en una conferencia de prensa. De acuerdo con los resultados preliminares, Colom tenía 52,76% de los votos mientras Pérez Molina recibía 47,24% (...)"</p> <p>http://www.informereservado.net/noticia.php?noticia=8422</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Destaca prensa triunfo de Colom en Guatemala Lunes 5 de noviembre de 2007. El Universal.</p>
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<p>Guatemala 2011</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>On November 6th of 2011, in an electoral context focused on the National security issue, the people from Guatemala choosed, after several years of civilian presidents, a military candidate over a civilian. Although, some experts had predicted Manuel Baldizón would contest the results if they were close, the runner-up candidate conceded defeat and congratulated the new president on the evening of election day.</p>	<p>Election date: 06/11/2011 Winner: Otto Pérez Molina - PP Runner-up candidate: Manuel Baldizón - LIDER</p> <p>Former General Elected President of Guatemala November 6, 2011. “Otto Pérez Molina, a former general during this country’s bloody civil war, was elected president on Sunday after promising to tackle rising crime with an “iron fist” and an expanded military Mr. Pérez Molina defeated Manuel Baldizón, a young, populist businessman, by nine percentage points, with nearly 90 percent of the vote counted, ushering Guatemala into new and old territory (...) Mr. Baldizón — with dark hair, hip glasses and a seemingly permanent smile — ran as the fresh alternative. He placed second in the opening round, but failed in the end to capitalize on an early surge in support drawn from lavish campaign spending from unknown sources, alliances with other parties and a shift toward promises of economic aid. His main policy idea, an extra paycheck for all workers, is still plastered on red posters that are likely to hang around for weeks. One major concern expressed by voters and experts was that Mr. Baldizón might contest the results if they were close, bringing supporters to the streets. But experts said his silence Sunday night suggested that he had accepted defeat. Voters at the polls Sunday said they just hoped that whoever won would move the country forward, not backward. “We’re in a very difficult situation,” said Judith Echeverria, 51, a teacher in Antigua.(...)” http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/07/world/americas/guatemala-runoff-vote-draws-the-unimpressed.html -0-</p>

			<p>Baldizón acepta su derrota ante Otto Pérez. Domingo 6 de noviembre de 2011. El Heraldo.</p> <p>El aspirante presidencial Manuel Baldizón admitió la noche de este domingo el triunfo de su contrincante, el general retirado Otto Pérez, en el balotaje celebrado en Guatemala."Quiero felicitar a mi contrincante, a quien le deseo la mejor de las suertes por el bien del país", exclamó Baldizón durante una rueda de prensa en un hotel de la capital guatemalteca.</p> <p>Baldizón, el aspirante de Libertad Democrática Renovada (Líder, derecha), dijo que acompañará al futuro gobernante "en todas aquellas medidas que beneficien a los guatemaltecos".</p> <p>Adelantó que será "un guardián" de las ofertas electorales que presentó durante su campaña el general Pérez, del también derechista Partido Patriota.</p> <p>Baldizón se proclamó como el "líder de la oposición nacional" que trabajará porque se siga cumpliendo la entrega de la denominada bolsa solidaria a las familias pobres del país.</p> <p>http://archivo.elheraldo.hn/content/view/full/535697</p>
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Honduras 1985-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Honduras 1985	1=1 2=1 3=0	<p>A few weeks before the presidential election was held, the retiring president of Honduras decided to promote a new electoral law.</p> <p>The new law established the president will be picked from the party with the largest number of votes, while the Honduran constitution stated the president would be elected by simple majority.</p> <p>On 24th November, the liberal candidate won only 25% of the votes while the Nationalist one won almost</p>	<p>Election date: 24/11/1985 Winner: José Azcona del Hoyo - Liberal Party of Honduras (PLH) Runner-up candidate: Rafael Leonardo Callejas - National Party of Honduras (PNH)</p> <p>Fraud claims mar election in Honduras Miércoles 27 de noviembre de 1985. The Globe and Mail.</p> <p>The ruling Liberal Party consolidated its lead in Honduras' presidential elections yesterday amid confusion and charges of fraud. With 1.26 million of the expected 1.5 million votes counted, the Liberal Party had 51.6 per cent of the vote against 44.8 per cent for its</p>

		<p>40%. Nonetheless, all candidates from the liberal party could gather more votes than the candidates from the nationalist party therefore, a few weeks later, presidency was conceded to José Azcona del Hoyo, the liberal candidate. On election day, before all votes had been counted, the nationalist party registered a challenge on the electoral tribunal, urging the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of the new electoral law.</p>	<p>main rival, the National Party. Trucks filled with jubilant supporters from both parties paraded through the capital on Monday night, causing electoral officials to postpone their announcement of preliminary results in an attempt to prevent unrest. Election officials said final results might not be announced until next month. The National Party accused the Liberals of clinging to power through an unconstitutional ruling that the president should be chosen according to the number of votes won by his party, rather than by his performance at the polls. Leading National Party candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas had so far received 528,353 votes against 357,915 for his main rival, Jose Azcona of the Liberals. But the Liberals scored more votes over all by fielding several popular candidates against the Nationalists' Mr. Callejas. Under an electoral reform passed by Congress in June, now hotly disputed by the opposition, President Roberto Suazo Cordova's successor will be the leading candidate of the party which wins the most votes.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18423825765&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=76&resultsUrlKey=29_T18423825769&cisb=22_T18423825768&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=303830&docNo=78</p> <p>Honduran top court to decide election Martes 3 de diciembre de 1985. The Globe and Mail. Despite a highly spirited bipartisan campaign and much rhetoric about steady progress toward democracy, it will still be up to the Supreme Court of Honduras to decide the presidency after elections a week ago. Although National Party candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas obtained a clear majority with 41 per cent of the popular vote, a recently instituted electoral law, that contradicts the constitution, would give the presidency to his main opponent, Jose Simon Azcona of the Liberal Party, who received only 26 per cent. Until the day before the election, held on Nov. 24, there was much uncertainty over the method to be employed in counting the votes. The constitution states that the president is to be elected by a simple majority, while the electoral law will select the candidate from the party with the largest number of votes.</p>
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<p>Honduras 1989</p>	<p>1=0 2=0</p>	<p>Although, he remained in silence for a couple days and stated there had been</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 26/11/1989</p>

	3=0	<p>irregularities during the electoral process, Carlos Roberto Flores, the liberal candidate for the presidency, finally congratulated his opponent. Jose Azcona Hoyo, the retiring president, declared his party would respect the choice of the Honduran people.</p>	<p><i>Winner:</i> Rafael Leonardo Callejas – Partido Nacional <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Carlos Roberto Flores – Partdo Liberal</p> <p>Honduran president says opposition candidate won Miércoles, 29 de noviembre de 1989. United Press International.</p> <p>President Jose Azcona Hoyo recognized the victory of opposition presidential candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas, and Callejas's ruling party rival also acknowledged his own defeat. "If the people elected (Callejas), he is the president of Honduras and we are not going to dim his electoral triumph," Azcona said Tuesday. "I hope he will be as good a president as he was a candidate."</p> <p>Unofficial results of Sunday's polling showed the opposition National Party candidate defeating ruling Liberal Party candidate Carlos Flores Facusse, although election officials said official certification may be delayed by a week. Flores congratulated Callejas on his victory, but said his party would closely monitor the official computer tabulation of the results to assure they are not altered. "We are not going to try and turn around any result, but neither are we going to keep quiet faced with the irregularities committed," Flores said. National Electoral Tribunal lawyer Pablo Valladarej said official results may not be ready until Dec. 6 because of technical problems. A seven-hour breakdown of telecommunications equipment early Monday forced the Tribunal to delay releasing even partial official results. Tribunal officials said substantial official results were expected by Monday night but as of Tuesday they still had released nothing. Valladarej said the Tribunal's computer center was closed Tuesday so that technicians could repair the center's fax machines and computers. Valladarej said some initial results may be ready by Thursday or Friday. "On Thursday or Friday we are going to have some figures," Valladarej said. "We calculate that at the latest, we'll have all the figures by December 6." Valladarej blamed the mechanical problems on an information overload as results came in early Monday morning and because of a lack of technical training among the computer center employees. Radio America, a Tegucigalpa independent radio station, said Tuesday morning Callejas had received 715,324 votes, about 86,000 more than Flores. Election officials have said unofficial results broadcast by radio stations, which have reporters present when the ballots are counted, are usually fairly accurate.</p>
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Honduras 1993	1=0 2=0 3=0	<p>The Honduran election of 1993 was characterized by the importance the economy had during the campaigns. The ruling party lost the poll and quickly conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 28/11/1993 <i>Winner:</i> Carlos Roberto Reina – Partido Liberal <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Oswaldo Ramos Soto – Partido Nacionalista</p> <p>Liberal Attorney Claims Victory, Opposition Concedes in Honduras Lunes, 29 de noviembre de 1993. Associated Press Worldstream</p> <p>A liberal attorney imprisoned by previous dictatorships was the apparent winner Sunday of Honduras' fourth civilian presidential elections since the end of military rule. After the opposition conceded, Carlos Roberto Reina claimed victory before a cheering crowd of Liberal Party followers late Sunday, saying: "We have won the battle." Reina had a lead of roughly 53 percent to 40 percent over Oswaldo Ramos Soto of the ruling conservative National Party, in a survey of about 100,000 votes from around the country by two national radio networks.</p> <p>Official returns were due Tuesday, but the National Party and two other opposition parties all conceded quickly, prompting a flag-waving crowd of thousands at Reina's headquarters to become delirious.</p> <p>"No more crooks in public affairs!" Reina shouted to supporters Sunday night. "When you know of a public thief, tell me. I have a machete here to cut off his fingers!"</p> <p>The army, which is practically autonomous despite giving up the presidency in 1980, provided security but did not interfere in the voting.</p>

			<p>More than 2.7 million people were eligible to vote, and many Hondurans rose before dawn to travel to their polling places.</p> <p>Turnout appeared to fall short of the predicted 85 percent in many areas. Early reports from around the country indicated a turnout of roughly 60 percent.</p> <p>The string of four consecutive free elections and the gradually declining power of the military are signs Honduras is building an enduring democratic system after years of coups, dictatorial presidents, and elections marred by massive fraud.</p> <p>Repeated peaceful civilian elections have been rare for most of Honduras' neighbors over the past half-century.</p> <p>Buses, cars and pickup trucks overflowing with voters and decorated with pictures of the candidates and flapping party flags careened through the hilly streets of the capital throughout the day.</p> <p>"It's my duty as a citizen to vote," said Lucas Sanchez, a grizzled farmer who said he awoke at 3 a.m. to come to the city.</p> <p>There were few reports of violence, though a grenade exploded harmlessly late Saturday at a shopping center in the northern city of San Pedro Sula. Some 13,000 police and soldiers patrolled the streets to prevent attacks by two tiny guerrilla groups.</p> <p>Disorganization was a bigger problem. Thousands of people were unable to vote because a sluggish bureaucracy failed to replace lost or stolen credentials in time, and more than 100,000 eligible voters reportedly were left off voter rolls. A court ruling Friday night barred them from voting.</p> <p>Hundreds lined up Sunday morning at the registration office in central Tegucigalpa in a last-minute effort to get identity cards in time to vote.</p> <p>Angry members of the crowd, some of whom had waited 30 hours, shouted "Fraud!" and "This is dictatorship!"</p> <p>Both major candidates are lawyers and former university professors. Both advocate a free-market economy, a crackdown on corruption, an end to the universal military draft and removal of police from army control.</p> <p>As a teen-ager, Reina was imprisoned for six months in 1944 for protesting against dictator Tiburcio Carias. He was briefly imprisoned by military governments in 1963 and 1968 as well.</p> <p>Reina placed more emphasis on social programs to aid the poor, who are suffering under the government's austerity programs. Ramos Soto tried to identify himself with outgoing President Rafael Leonardo Callejas, who remains popular.</p> <p>The constitution prohibits presidents from serving consecutive four-year terms.</p> <p>The winning candidate will govern one of the poorest countries in the Americas. Many of its 5.5 million people are jobless and lack medical care. A third of its children show signs being stunted by malnutrition, according to a World Bank report.</p>
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Honduras 1997	1=0 2=0 3=0	The runner-up candidate applauded the election.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 30/11/1997 <i>Winner:</i> Carlos Roberto Flores – Partido Liberal <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Alba Nora Gunera de Melgar – Partido Nacionalista</p> <p>International News Iero de diciembre de 1997. Associated Press International</p> <p>“A U.S.-educated industrial engineer has been elected president of Honduras, and he says the country is ready to move beyond a painful, two-decade transition from military rule. Carlos Flores Facusse, who is president of Congress and owns a newspaper, beat Nora Gunera de Melgar, a former mayor of Tegucigalpa and widow of a former military ruler, in Sunday's election. According to official results Monday, with nearly 1.4 million votes counted, Flores Facusse had 52.8 percent to Gunera de Melgar's 42.6 732,148 votes to 592,951.</p> <p>Officials did not give a figure for turnout, but radio stations reported it close to 75 percent. There were 2.9 million registered voters.</p> <p>Honduras' military rulers ceded power in 1981, and a major focus of elections ever since has been the participation of soldiers in the country's politics.</p> <p>The current president, Carlos Roberto Reina, tried with limited success to punish army officials for killings during military rule, and a month ago Honduras' police force passed from military to civilian hands.</p> <p>The military has now ceased to be a threat in the minds of most Hondurans. In the campaigns for Sunday's election, hardly a mention was made of military power.</p> <p>Flores Facusse acknowledged the change at a victory rally late Sunday night, citing a shift both in his Liberal Party to which Reina also belongs and in the country as a whole.</p> <p>"My new agenda is not a continuation of the old agendas," he said. "We have our own style and we want to imprint the party with our own leadership."</p> <p>During the presidential campaign, Flores Facusse distanced himself from Reina. He campaigned on issues like health, public safety and "moral values."</p> <p>At 47, he represents a different generation from the 71-year-old Reina. Much in their backgrounds also contrasts sharply: Reina is a former political prisoner imprisoned by the military. Flores Facusse studied industrial engineering in the United States and married an American.</p>

			<p>Even Gunera de Melgar applauded the election, saying Monday that it represented a step toward democracy. (...)"</p> <p>http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1997/Honduras-continues-with-same-party-but-different-focus/id-ac69c93d9b26b9f5014bcd7066681b2</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>LUNES 1- 12- 97 Iberoamérica INTERNACIONAL ABC Honduras Triunfo de Flores en las elecciones presidenciales, según los sondeos Normalidad y escasos incidentes en la jornada electoral tegucigalpa. Luis Alberto Rodríguez El ingeniero Carlos Roberto Flores, del Partido Liberal, se convierte en el virtual presidente de la República de Honduras, aventajando en más de un 20 por ciento a su inmediato rival, la nacionalista Alba Nora Gúnera de Melgar, tras conocerse los primeros escrutinios. Los comicios celebrados ayer fueron los sextos en este país, desde la restauración de la democracia, y en ellos podían votar alrededor de tres millones de hondureños. Con mucha tranquilidad y fervor político, Según los primeros datos, Carlos Flores, cerca de tres millones de hondureños que es- en la primera urna escrutada en una escuela taban inscritos para votar en las elecciones de Tegucigalpa, obtuvo 119 votos, mientras generales celebraron</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1997/12/01/039.html</p>
<p>Honduras 2001</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The presidential election of 1996 was won by Ricardo Maduro, the opposition candidate. The government candidate, Rafael Pineda, did not hesitate in recognizing his defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 25/11/2001 <i>Winner:</i> Ricardo Maduro - Partido Nacional <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Rafael Pineda Ponce – Partido Liberal</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Opposition Leader wins in Honduran Presidential Election Confirmed 26 de noviembre de 2001. Xinhua General News Service.</p> <p>“Ricardo Maduro of Honduras' opposition National Party won Sunday's presidential election with 52 percent of the counted votes, defeating Rafael Pineda Ponce of the ruling Liberal Party, Honduras' national electoral commission announced Monday night. Pineda, who has admitted defeat, gained 43 percent of the 900, 000 votes already counted, according to the latest results released by the electoral authorities.”</p>

			<p>http://www.lexisnexis.com/lxacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18557090698&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=201&resultsUrlKey=29_T18557093605&cisb=22_T18557093604&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8078&docNo=223</p> <p>Maduro, del opositor Partido Nacional, gana las elecciones hondureñas 26 de noviembre de 2001. El país.</p> <p>“El candidato del opositor Partido Nacional, Ricardo Maduro, será el 27 de enero de 2002 el próximo presidente de Honduras, tras imponerse al candidato del Partido Liberal, Rafael Pineda, en las elecciones legislativas celebradas este domingo. Escrutado más del 20% de los votos, Maduro, que sustituirá al actual mandatario hondureño, Carlos Roberto Flores, sumaba el 52,38% de los sufragios, ocho puntos más que Pineda (44,17%), que admitió públicamente su derrota. Tras conocer su victoria, Maduro prometió "paz y unión" a Centroamérica y aseguró que, con su victoria, "ganó la Democracia, ganó Honduras". Ricardo Maduro, un exitoso hombre de negocios, se enfrentará a un país con una pobreza generalizada, una abultada deuda externa y una incontenible ola de violencia (...)"</p>
Honduras 2005	1=1 2=0 3=0	The liberal candidate Manuel Zelaya won the presidency in the presidential election of 2005. Although the official candidate, Porfirio Lobo Sosa, initially stated he would not recognize the results, he finally conceded defeat 11 days after election day.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 27/11/2005 <i>Winner:</i> Manuel Zelaya - Partido Liberal de Honduras (PLH) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Porfirio Lobo Sosa - Partido Nacional de Honduras (PNH)</p> <p>Election 2005: Honduran electoral Council Confirms Opposition Leader as President, Ruling Party Rejects Result Domingo 29 de noviembre de 2005</p> <p>Uncertainty prevails in Honduras after incumbent President Ricardo Maduro teamed up with his National Party (PN) candidate Porfirio Lobo in refusing to recognise opposition leader Manuel Zelaya from the Liberal Party (PL) as the new president. Yesterday exit polls and preliminary ballot counts gave a clear advantage to Zelaya, and the President of the Supreme Electoral Council (TSE) Aristides Mejia later ratified his victory (see Honduras: 28 November 2005: Election 2005: Opposition Candidate Leads Presidential Vote in Honduras). PN elements contend that the results provided by the TSE - affording Zelaya 50.6% of the vote and Lobo 45.2% - did not specify on what proportion of the vote tally they were based. Lobo and the PN president Gilberto Goldstein</p>

			<p>thus claimed they would not concede defeat until all votes had been counted. According to them, Mejia, a member of the PL, has declared victory prematurely. Maduro has called for calm while the votes are counted and other results should be brought forward today. Thousands of PN backers took to the street of the capital, Tegucigalpa, and protested in front of the temporary offices of the TSE, demanding the count of all the votes. Zelaya severely slated the position of Maduro and his PN affiliates, accusing them of cheating the population and depriving them of the one they elected. He also claimed that Maduro was 'playing with fire' and destabilising the country.</p> <p>Significance: Zelaya suspended a trip to neighbouring El Salvador today where he was set to meet President Antonio Saca. The requests for a thorough ballot count are legitimate and the TSE has indeed failed to deliver any tangible and verifiable data on Sunday's elections. The delay in promulgating official results is at the source of the uncertainty. Mejia's unilateral declarations have hardly assuaged the doubts of the ruling party, since he is a PL affiliate, and given the absence of the other TSE magistrates' backing of the announcement. The victor must be ratified by the TSE as an institution and not by its individual members. The reasons behind such an untimely provision of firm results can only be wondered at. Until yesterday the TSE had indeed only counted 151 of the 5,312 ballot boxes. While the preliminary counts confirm, for now, Zelaya as the victor, there is still much room for reservation.</p> <p>La oposición liberal gana las elecciones generales en Honduras 28 de noviembre de 2005. El país. “El presidente del Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones (TSE) de Honduras, Aristides Mejía, ha anunciado esta tarde (hora española) el triunfo del candidato del opositor Manuel Zelaya en las elecciones generales celebradas ayer en el país centroamericano. Con 151 de las 5.312 mesas instaladas en todo el país escrutadas, Zelaya se ha impuesto por el 50,79% de los votos a su principal rival, el candidato del conservador Partido Nacional (PN), Porfirio Lobo, quien habría logrado el 45,22%. Juan Armendares, del partido de izquierda Unificación Democrática tiene, por el momento, el 1,72% de los votos; Juan Ramón Martínez, de la Democracia Cristiana, el 1,31%, y Carlos Sosa, de Innovación y Unidad-Social Demócrata, el 0,2%, precisó Mejía. "Gobierno de unidad nacional" Zelaya, de 53 años, no ha esperado al pronunciamiento del tribunal para proclamar desde Catacamas, su lugar de nacimiento, la victoria. Ha dicho que se siente "sencillamente impresionado por la respuesta del pueblo" y ha prometido hacer "un gobierno de unidad nacional". Ha agregado que el resultado lo recibe "como un mandato del pueblo de Honduras, que ha confiado en nuestro mensaje, en nuestra propuesta".</p>
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			<p>Mientras los liberales festejan su triunfo, el candidato oficial, Porfirio Lobo, que no acepta aún los resultados del sondeo como definitivos, ha declarado a los periodistas que "esta será una noche muy larga" porque sus encuestas reflejan "que estamos el uno por ciento" por encima de Zelaya. Ambos candidatos han abordado como principal tema de contienda electoral el combate entre las pandillas, conocidas como <i>maras</i>, a las que las autoridades atribuyen gran parte de la violencia que azota a los hondureños.(...)"</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2005/11/28/actualidad/1133132405_850215.html</p> <p>El liberal Manuel Zelaya, virtual presidente electo de Honduras. 8 de diciembre de 2005. El país.</p> <p>“Once días después de las elecciones generales, Honduras ya cuenta con un presidente electo: Manuel Zelaya, de 53 años de edad y miembro del socialdemócrata Partido Liberal (PL), quien logró la mayoría de votos, aún cuando falta por contabilizar y revisar el 11,4% de las actas oficiales del sufragio del pasado 27 de noviembre, según una declaración ofrecida el martes por la noche por el Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE). Pero la certeza del triunfo de Zelaya la ha dado su principal rival en la contienda, el oficialista Porfirio Lobo Sosa, de 57 años de edad y miembro del derechista Partido Nacional (PN), quien reconoció ayer su derrota y fue condescendiente al llamar a su contrincante para "felicitarlo y desejarle el mayor éxito para su Gobierno", según sus propias palabras. "Vamos a hacer una oposición constructiva", añadió Lobo Sosa, quien es el presidente del Congreso Nacional (Parlamento), quien se venía mostrando reacio a reconocer su derrota desde la misma noche de las elecciones, cuando una importante empresa local, Ingeniería Gerencial, dio a conocer sus pronósticos a pie de urna, que daban la victoria a Zelaya. (...)"</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2005/12/08/actualidad/1133996402_850215.html</p>
<p>Honduras 2009</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>Five months after the Honduran military coup that finished the presidential term of Manuel Zelaya, presidential elections were held in Honduras. The candidate of the opposite party won and Elvin Santos conceded defeat. Nevertheless, Porfirio Lobo faced a legitimacy crisis with others countries whose governments refused to recognized the election.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 29/11/2009 <i>Winner:</i> Porfirio Lobo Sosa - Partido Nacional de Honduras (PNH) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Elvin Santos - Partido Liberal de Honduras (PLH)</p> <p>Opposition candidate Lobo claimed victory in Honduras election Lunes 30 de noviembre de 2009, Xinhua General News Service Opposition candidate Porfirio Lobo has claimed victory in Honduras' presidential election on Sunday. Speaking to reporters as he celebrated with supporters, Lobo said he would try to iron out differences and establish a united and stable new government to deliver on his campaign promises. Lobo thanked the people for their "votes and trust," saying it is not time to "divide, but to add and multiply."</p>

			<p>"Tomorrow we will start the political dialogue to make the nation's plan concrete," which will not leave anybody aside, "because we all are Hondurans," Lobo said. Official preliminary results showed Lobo had gained 55.9 percent of the vote. With more than 60 percent of the ballots counted, Lobo had widened his lead over archrival Elvin Santos from the ruling Liberal Party, who garnered 38 percent, the election authorities said citing preliminary results. Santos has conceded defeat. Sunday's vote came five months after President Manuel Zelaya was ousted in a coup. Zelaya and his supporters have boycotted the election.</p> <p>New Honduran president faces crisis of legitimacy Lunes 30 de noviembre de 2009. CBC News. Honduras' newly elected president, Porfirio Lobo, faces an international crisis even before taking office: many countries of the hemisphere refuse to recognize the election's result in the wake of the country's recent coup. Election officials said Monday that the conservative rancher had a strong lead in Sunday's presidential contest and his rival, ruling party candidate Elvin Santos, conceded defeat. But Lobo must now convince the world the election was legitimate, coming as it did five months after President Manuel Zelaya was ousted. Zelaya, holed up in the Brazilian embassy in the Honduran capital, has condemned the vote. But it would appear voters rejected Zelaya's call to boycott the election. Election organizers said that more than 60 per cent of registered voters cast ballots, which represents an increase from the last election. The United States says it will accept the results of the vote, but most Latin American countries, led by Brazil, say they won't recognize a coup-backed government. Canada's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Peter Kent said Monday he was encouraged by reports indicating elections appear to have been run freely and fairly, with no major incidences of violence. Elections 'an important first step' "The elections were an important first step in restoring Honduras to democratic legitimacy," Kent said in a release.</p>
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Indonesia 2004-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>Indonesia 2004</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Outgoing President Megawati Sukarnoputri tearfully conceded defeat, clearing the way for the winner to begin forming a new government. “Whoever has been chosen, we must graciously accept it, because the victory is a victory for all of us,” she said to applause from those present, including Yudhoyono. Her voice broke up when spoke, and she sobbed. “We have succeeded in concluding a national task ... for the first time in the history of the Indonesian republic we have chosen a president and vice president directly in an orderly and safe manner.”</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 20 September 2004 <i>Winner:</i> Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Megawati Sukarnoputri, Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The first presidential election of 2004 was held on July 5, 2004. Its outcome led to a second runoff election in September. Only parties that won 5% of the national vote, or won 3% of parliamentary seats were allowed to contest the July 5 presidential election. No single candidate won an outright first round victory in July 2004, which required a majority of the vote with the additional requirement of 20% of the vote being distributed among at least half of the provinces.⁹ In the first round of the presidential election the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla ticket won 33.57% of the vote with the Megawati Sukarnoputri-Hasyim Muzadi ticket coming second with 26.6% of the vote.¹⁰ This led to a run-off election between the two most popular candidates, Yudhoyono and Megawati, on September 20, 2004.¹¹ In the second round, Yudhoyono won with 60.62% of the vote as compared to Megawati’s 39.38%.¹² This was the first election where Indonesians had the opportunity to directly vote for the President. Some observers noted a focus on individual candidates and parties to a greater extent than on issues and accountability of politicians by the Indonesian public in 2004. Indonesians rated unemployment, poverty, and high prices as they key issues for the elections of 2004. They also viewed Yudhoyono and Kalla as best suited to deal with these problems.¹³</p> <p>The successful series of elections of 2004 did much to consolidate the democratic process in Indonesia. They also more firmly established the dominance of secular- nationalist parties. Golkar remains the largest political party despite its association with the now discredited regime of former President Suharto. Vice President Jusuf Kalla is leader of Golkar and there is speculation about rivalry between Kalla and Yudhoyono.²⁵ Megawati’s PDI-P remains the second largest party though reduced in stature after Megawati’s defeat by Yudhoyono in 2004. The Democratic Party of President Yudhoyono was a relative newcomer in 2004 as it did not contest elections in 1999. It is thought to have done well because it offered an alternative to Golkar and PDI-P which formed the</p>

			<p>established political elite. Despite the predominance of the secular-nationalist parties there are parties with a more Islamic orientation including the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Mandate Party (P AN), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the United Development Party (PPP).²⁶ There is some concern that the political parties lack maturity as demonstrated by allegations of bribery and vote buying at some party congresses.²⁷ http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21874.pdf</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Ex-general wins in presidential election October 04, 2004 By Items compiled from Tribune news services.</p> <p>JAKARTA, INDONESIA — Former Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono will be inaugurated as the country's sixth president on Oct. 20 after a landslide victory in the first direct presidential election, the Election Commission said.</p> <p>A running tally of votes from the Sept. 20 election has shown Yudhoyono with a strong lead over President Megawati Sukarnoputri for more than a week. The candidates have declined to acknowledge the results ahead of an official announcement.</p> <p>An Election Commission spokeswoman said the final results from 31 of 32 provinces in the vast archipelago nation showed Yudhoyono with a lead of 24 million votes out of an estimated 125 million cast nationwide.</p> <p>http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-10-04/news/0410040264_1_presidential-election-election-commission-results</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Indonesia's Megawati finally concedes 10/5/2004 12:13:10 AM ET NBCNews.com</p> <p>Outgoing President Megawati Sukarnoputri tearfully conceded defeat Tuesday in last month's elections, clearing the way for the winner to begin forming a new government.</p> <p>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had been waiting for Megawati to concede before claiming victory, respecting the decorum of Indonesia's fledgling democracy, despite his landslide victory in the Sept. 20 polls.</p>
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			<p>But public perception soured, with critics accusing her of failing to tackle rampant graft and of being aloof and uncaring.</p> <p>Analysts say Yudhoyono must quickly take action in solving Indonesia’s many problems — including several separatist insurgencies, a stagnant economy and terror threats — or risk losing supporters.</p> <p>Yudhoyono led the country’s anti-terrorist effort as Megawati’s security minister, and Western governments hope he will take a tougher stand against the al-Qaida linked Jemaah Islamiyah network, blamed for a series of attacks including the Oct. 12, 2002 Bali bombings that killed 202 people.</p> <p>http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6048993/ns/world_news/t/indonesias-megawati-finally-concedes/</p>
Indonesia 2009	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>Megawati rejected Indonesia president's re-election, presented a case before the Constitutional Court and his supporters protested in the streets. After the court handed down its decision, the two losing candidates indicated they would accept verdict. Megawati met with protesters at Teuku Umar, Central Jakarta, urging them not to “riot” following the verdict. “I ask you all to go home now. If you are involved in violence, I will be disappointed,” Megawati said.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 8 July 2009 <i>Winner:</i> Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Democratic Party coalition <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Megawati Sukarnoputri, Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle and Great Indonesia Movement Party coalition</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Agence France-Presse Jakarta, July 25, 2009 First Published: 15:23 IST(25/7/2009) Last Updated: 15:24 IST(25/7/2009) Print Megawati rejects Indonesia president's re-election</p> <p>Indonesian opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri rejected on Saturday President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's landslide re-election win and will challenge the results in court, a spokesman said. Megawati's campaign will lodge a challenge to the results of the July 8 poll with the Constitutional Court, by alleging widespread irregularities including millions of people left off voter rolls, lawmaker Gayus Lumbuun said. "Because there are still unresolved legal issues, we are rejecting the presidential election results from the KPU (election commission)," Gayus Lumbuun, from Megawati's Democratic Party of Struggle, said.</p>

			<p>Official results announced by the commission on Saturday gave the liberal ex-general Yudhoyono 60.8 per cent of the vote, far ahead of ex-president Megawati with 26.8 per cent and Vice-President Jusuf Kalla with 12.4 per cent.</p> <p>The Megawati campaign boycotted the official announcement of the results at the election commission office.</p> <p>Kalla's campaign will also launch a Constitutional Court appeal over voter list irregularities, but has not yet decided whether to accept or reject the results, campaign spokesman Indra Piliang said.</p> <p>"We have accepted the draft results signed by the KPU members ... (but) because we found irregularities in the voter list we'll file a legal challenge to the Constitutional Court," he said.</p> <p>"According to the law, there have to be objective results before the declaration of the president and vice president-elect."</p> <p>Yudhoyono denied there had been widespread fraud in the election but said opposing candidates had the right to launch "peaceful" challenges to the results.</p> <p>"Our system and laws of course allow for those sides who still want to protest and file complaints," Yudhoyono said in a press conference broadcast on national television.</p> <p>"In the public arena, voting issues of irregularities have emerged ... irregularities in elections don't always mean fraud. Nonetheless they have to be corrected, repaired and settled," he said.</p> <p>The 59-year-old Yudhoyono, who defeated Megawati in Indonesia's first direct presidential election in 2004 on an anti-corruption platform, is credited with ensuring stability and economic growth.</p> <p>Kalla's Golkar Party, the political vehicle of late dictator Suharto, has indicated it could join a Yudhoyono-led government but Megawati has maintained bitter opposition to the president.</p> <p>Elite paramilitary police provided heavy security outside the election commission office, the road to which was blocked off by razor wire and armoured vehicles.</p>
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			<p>The US and its allies backed Yudhoyono as the best guarantor of their interests in Indonesia and South East Asia, promoting him as their preferred leader to maintain a democratic façade while implementing pro-market economic reforms. However, all the candidates in the presidential elections were products of the decades-long Suharto dictatorship—Yudhoyono himself was a Suharto-era army general—and legal restrictions ensured that only well-financed parties could stand for parliamentary elections. Of the more than 100 parties that sought to stand in the April parliamentary election, only 38 were allowed to do so and of those only nine obtained the 2.5 percent national vote tally required to obtain seats.</p> <p>Behind the legal appeals were significant differences within the ruling elite on economic policy. Yudhoyono made clear that he would continue a pro-market and pro-investment economic program. At the same time, aware of widespread hostility in the impoverished population, he promised that the poor would be compensated in order to maintain “growth with equity”, and to “bring about a sense of fairness”.</p> <p>Megawati and Kalla pitched their campaigns at the urban and rural middle classes, but their primary concern was to protect more vulnerable sections of business, including those run by the country’s military, from the open-market agenda. The two disputed the result on a number of grounds, including a flawed voters list, a reduced number of polling stations, electoral assistance from foreign institutions, and vote rigging.</p> <p>During the hearing, the plaintiffs presented witnesses to support their claims that the results of the election were a sham. A witness from North Sumatra showed a video of a child at a polling station who was about to cast a vote. The witness said 20 children were reported to have voted at one polling station in Central Tapanuli district.</p> <p>A Central Tapanuli village chief, Beni Batubara, said a person there had been tried in court and convicted for voting for Yudhoyono 51 times. Chairul Anwar, a witness for Megawati from Bengkulu, said that in Kepahyang district, 99 percent of voters had no citizen registration numbers, and the remainder all had the same number.</p> <p>During the case, Constitutional Court Chief Mahfud MD had commented that it was clear that the final voters list was “a total mess”. “We don’t need to repeat and question that fact over and over again,” Mahfud was reported as saying.</p> <p>However, in defending the court’s finding against the plaintiffs, Mahfud asserted that none of these problems “could be described as structural, systematic or massive”. The court found 3.6 million duplicate voters. But the KPU had already deleted those names. “Even if they were not deleted, they wouldn’t have changed the final result,” he said.</p>
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			<p>Mahfud said that at the outset he had been “really eager to teach the KPU a lesson” by ordering an election rerun, but in the end there was “no proof”. Another judge, Maria Farida Indrati, reportedly slammed the KPU for its lack of professionalism in preparing the voters list.</p> <p>The National Commission on Human Rights earlier claimed the KPU had violated human rights by denying millions of unregistered but eligible voters their right to participate in the presidential poll. The commission, also known as Komnas HAM, had been constantly critical of the embattled KPU, and lambasted it for problems with voters rolls used for the legislative elections in April. Nur Kholis, a member of Komnas HAM, said the KPU had “neglected its work and as a result many people were unable to cast their vote”. Syafruddin Ngulma Simeulue, another Komnas HAM member, said the KPU had failed to fix problems with the voters list in time for the presidential election, despite widespread calls to do so.</p> <p>Syafruddin said that a number of prisoners in Kalimantan had been unable to vote. “Most of the prisoners have no identity card, and the commission did not allow them to vote,” he said. Yoseph Adi, also a Komnas HAM member, said many hospital patients had not been able to vote because the KPU failed to provide polling stations. “There were systemic violations by design,” he said. “In the legislative elections, we already criticised them, but they ignored it. They did not fix problems for the presidential election.”</p> <p>Nur Hidayat Sardini, chairman of the Elections Supervisory Board (Bawaslu), said his agency had determined that although many election irregularities had taken place, they were within a tolerable level. “Though several violations occurred during the election, we have to think critically and recognise that they were not massive or systematic as the plaintiffs alleged.”</p> <p>After the court handed down its decision, the losing candidates indicated they would accept verdict. “The Constitutional Court verdict is final and binding,” said Chairuman Harahap, from Kalla’s team. “In this state of law, we have no other option but to accept the result.” Arterio Dahlan, from Megawati’s team, said that the team had yet to decide whether it was going to take further legal action.</p> <p>Megawati met with protesters at Teuku Umar, Central Jakarta, urging them not to “riot” following the verdict. “I ask you all to go home now. If you are involved in violence, I will be disappointed,” Megawati said. Her running mate Prabowo asked for the protesters to “respect the legal system in the country” despite the court’s decision. The protesters had previously blockaded an area around the court, burning boxes and parking a truck in the middle of the road.</p> <p>The Indonesian media joined in, exhorting that it was time for the country to “move on”. The Jakarta Globe editorialised that “the future well-being of the country requires that the losers accept</p>
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			<p>the results and move forward—as either avid opponents of the government or tactical allies”. That is precisely what Megawati and Kalla appear to be doing, well aware that any sustained campaign threatens to undermine the flimsy façade of Indonesian democracy and provide an outlet for deep-seated social discontent that none of the candidates has any answers for.</p> <p>Yudhoyono used his first major speech after the court’s verdict to commit himself to “complete the reform agendas” in the economy, and calling for a major offensive to combat terrorism. Delivering his State of the Nation address to the House of Representatives on August 14, the president called on the “whole of the Indonesian people” to “lend a helping hand to the security apparatus” by providing information on “perpetrators of terrorism who hide in the midst of our community”. Under the banner of fighting terrorism, Yudhoyono is strengthening the military-police apparatus as he steps up a free-market business agenda that will cause further hardship for ordinary people.</p> <p>https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2009/08/indo-a21.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>CLIP 1 OF 1 (COPYRIGHT: REUTERS)</p> <p>JAKARTA, INDONESIA (AUGUST 12, 2009) (REUTERS) CONSTITUTIONAL COURT BUILDING IN JAKARTA PROTESTERS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE COURT MEGAWATI'S SUPPORTER HOLDING A PARTY FLAG PROTESTER POLICE PUTTING TIGHT SECURITY CORDON CONSTITUTIONAL COURT JUDGES ENTERING COURT ROOM (SOUNDBITE) (Bahasa Indonesia) CHIEF JUDGE MAHFUD M.D. SAYING: "I now declare the court is open and is opened to the public." COURT SESSION LAWYERS LISTENING JUDGES (SOUNDBITE) (Bahasa Indonesia) CHIEF JUDGE MAHFUD M.D SAYING: "We have decided to reject the applicant's objection and reject all the applications contesting the results. We have decided this without any dissenting opinion." LAWYERS COURT SESSION</p> <p>http://www.itnsources.com/shotlist/RTV/2009/08/13/RTV1509609/</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Negotiations before the election itself between the runner up candidates Yudhoyono, Megawati contact intensifies</p>
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			<p>Erwida Maulia and Dicky Christanto, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta Headlines Tue, May 12 2009, 9:07 AM</p> <p>Without much fanfare, arch rivals the Democratic Party (PD) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) have moved a step closer towards an unthinkable new grand coalition.</p> <p>PD chief patron President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono sent Monday his special envoy Hatta Rajasa to hold talks with PDI-P leader Megawati Soekarnoputri for a second time within a week.</p> <p>"Up to this date the communication between SBY and Megawati is running quite smoothly I should say," Hatta, who is the State Secretary as well as a vice presidential prospective candidate from the National Mandate Party (PAN), told reporters after the closed-door meeting at Megawati's residence in Menteng, Central Jakarta.</p> <p>Neither Hatta nor PDI-P top officials were prepared to reveal the substance of the talks.</p> <p>"My duty here is only to communicate what SBY wants to say to Mega and vice versa," Hatta said.</p> <p>PD deputy chairman Anas Urbaningrum said talks between the two parties had been limited to "substantial things, such as platform and policy direction".</p> <p>"We neither began with [cabinet] positions on offer nor have touched the issue of power sharing. We're not in a rush. [This] takes time. What matters is a good intention to communicate," Anas said.</p> <p>PDI-P secretary-general Pramono Anung said he was upbeat the negotiations could bear fruit, although a direct contact between Yudhoyono and Megawati looked unlikely any time soon. "I am glad to say that both figures could hold such a healthy dialogue even though it is still conducted through a messenger," he said.</p> <p>Pramono assured listeners that the two sides had not discussed the issue of power sharing or details of the coalition.</p> <p>President Yudhoyono acknowledged for the first time Sunday there were intensive talks between his party and the PDI-P, which if they materialized could tear apart the coalition the PDI-P has signed with nine other parties, including Golkar, the People's Conscience Party (Hanura) and the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra).</p>
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			<p>At the same time, several party coalitions discussed nominations for MPR Chairman, including Taufiq Kiemas, husband of former President Megawati Sukarnoputri.[52] He was elected to the position on 3 October after receiving support from all nine political parties which was allocated seats in the DPR. The majority of DPD members walked out of the election after a proposal for two of the four deputy seats to be allocated solely to DPD members was rejected.[53]</p> <p>-0- Speaker post, Megawati's Husband http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/10/01/sby's-coalition-divided-mpr-speaker-post.html</p> <p>-0- After a difficult political negotiation including a walkout from the majority of regional representatives, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) eventually elected on Saturday Taufik Kiemas as its chairman for the 2009-2014 period. http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/10/04/taufik-kiemas-elected-mpr-chairman.html</p> <p>-0- Indonesia's Democratic Party secures 3 chairmanships of 11 commissions in parliament 13:49, October 14, 2009</p> <p>Legislators of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's political party, Democratic Party, secured three seats of chairmanships of 11 commissions in the parliament, local media reported here on Wednesday. The ruling Democratic Party secures 148 of 560 seats in the parliament. The remaining chairmanships were secured by legislators from political parties that coalesced with Democratic Party in the July 8 presidential election. They comprised of The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), National Mandate Party (PAN), United Development Party and National Awakening Party (PKB). Each of those parties secures one chairmanship at the parliament, the Jakarta Post reported. The remaining four commission chairmanships were equally secured by the Golkar party and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). The Golkar Party's newly elected chairman, Aburizal Bakrie, has been a close ally to Susilo. Shortly after being inaugurated as the party's chairman, Aburizal hinted that he would continue his close relationship with the president.</p>
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			<p>Meanwhile, PDI-P will likely join the coalition of political parties that support President Susilo after the party's patron figure Taufik Kiemas was appointed to lead the parliament's higher body People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Earlier reports said that President Susilo also mulled to appoint some senior cadres of PDIP in ministerial posts in his upcoming cabinet.</p> <p>http://en.people.cn/90001/90777/90851/6783255.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>17. (C) Similarly, PDI-P's future remains uncertain. Megawati's desire and ability to remain as Chairwoman are unclear. First Gentleman Taufik Kiemas has a clear incentive to retain control of the party -- the more power he retains, the better the chances that he will escape unpunished for his legendary corruption during his wife's tenure. However, many in PDI-P dislike Taufik and blame him for the party's poor performance in recent elections. Vice Chairmen Arifin Panigoro and Roy Janis have told us they have an interest in competing for the party's chairmanship, and both claim to have cultivated ties to Yudhoyono. Either a cabinet appointment or some other symbolic gesture from Yudhoyono could signal to PDI-P officials that those in the party who want to enjoy good relations with the President should back a particular alternative to the current First Family.</p> <p>https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04JAKARTA8872_a.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Indonesia: 'Oppositionists' seek cabinet posts</p> <p>By Max Lane, in Jakarta</p> <p>In the immediate aftermath of the July 8 Indonesian presidential election, the two losing sets of candidates alleged that there was widespread ballot fraud. Both the team of outgoing vice-president Jusuf Kalla of the Golkar party and retired army general Wiranto, leader of the Hanura party, and the team of Indonesia Democratic Party-Struggle (PDIP) leader Megawati Sukarnoputri and</p>
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			<p>Gerindra party leader Prabowo Subianto lodged complaints with the courts centred on discrepancies in the voter lists.</p> <p>However, this argie-bargie between the losers and re-elected President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was soon put to rest as the two losing teams, especially the PDIP and Gerindra, began their attempts to gain cabinet posts in Yudhoyono’s government. Not only did the noise about electoral fraud, but all the accusations about Yudhoyono and his new vice-president, economist Budiono, having “neoliberal” rather than the opposition teams’ “peoples’ economy” approach, appear to have been put aside — at least until it is clear whether Yudhoyono gives them cabinet posts or not.</p> <p>The PDIP <u>hopes to obtain the support of Yudhoyono’s Democratic Party for the election of Taufiq Kiemas, Megawati’s husband, to the position of speaker of the Peoples’ Consultative Assembly (MPR)</u>, a body comprising the House of Representatives and the Council of Regional Representatives. The MPR sets the broad outlines of state policy on a five yearly basis and meets regularly on some other issues. As media discussion on this approach increased, it also became clear that the PDIP wanted to obtain cabinet posts.</p> <p>During the same period, Prabowo also arranged to have a one-on-one meeting with Yudhoyono where his possible appointment as Minister for Agriculture was discussed. It is not clear who asked whom first, but it soon leaked to the press. It was after these meetings that Prabowo finally held a press conference to congratulate Yudhoyono on his re-election, after holding out from doing this while claiming the election was undemocratic.</p> <p>There has also been a discussion and struggle inside Golkar as to whether it should be an opposition party or seek to remain in the government. This discussion was overshadowed recently when Kalla stated he would not seek re-election as Golkar chairperson. The party of deceased dictator Mohammed Suharto is now preparing a congress where four of the country’s weathiest capitalists will fight it out to be Golkar chairperson. Among the candidates are Aburizal Bakrie, possibly the richest person in the country; media baron Surya Polo; Tommy Suharto, millionaire conglomerate owner, convicted murderer and Suharto’s son; and Tutut Suharto, millionaire conglomerate owner and Suharto’s daughter. Bakrie is a minister in the current Yudhoyono cabinet.</p> <p>Little policy difference These post-election shenanigans simply repeat what happened before the election, during the process of putting together presidential tickets, revealing again that all of the parties involved are</p>
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			<p>willing to cooperate with each other and that there is no real ideological and little policy difference between them. While there has been discussion and mention by all of the elite parties of the possibility of Yudhoyono broadening his coalition from beyond those who supported him during the election to include the PDIP, Gerindra and Golkar, he has still not yet announced his cabinet. Whether his negotiations with the PDIP and Gerindra were a tactic to expose the fakery of their oppositionist stances during the election or a genuine attempt to include them in a new governing coalition is not yet clear.</p> <p>A number of different orientations have emerged on the left in the aftermath of the presidential election. The Peoples Democratic Party (PRD), formerly led by Dita Sari, had adopted a position of alleged critical support for the Kalla-Wiranto ticket as well as for the Megawati-Prabowo ticket during the election campaign. The PRD organised a series of rallies of its own supporters denouncing Yudhoyono as a neoliberal politician, but not denouncing Kalla, despite him having been Yudhoyono’s vice-president for the past five years. Similarly Megawati, who began the neoliberal program of large-scale privatisation of state-owned enterprises during her 2001-04 presidency, was allowed to pass herself off as a supporter of “peoples economy” without any criticism from the PRD.</p> <p>In one article by a PRD spokesperson, it was also argued that through rhetorical campaigning against neoliberalism in the lead-up to the election, retired general Prabowo had “wiped out his sins” of organising the torture and disappearance of pro-democracy activists during the late Suharto era. It was even argued that the numbers involved — 14 are still missing, presumed dead — were minor compared to the victims of Yudhoyono’s neoliberal policies, forgetting that the disappearing of the 14, and the torturing of several others, were actually acts aimed at terrorising the whole pro-democracy movement.</p> <p>Call for anti-neoliberal coalition</p> <p>In the immediate aftermath of the election, the PRD has been advocating for a broad anti-neoliberal coalition, calling for the PDIP and Gerindra to lead an anti-neoliberal offensive in the new parliament. To what extent the PDIP and Gerindra deploy anti-neoliberal rhetoric again, however, will depend on whether their pleas to be accepted into the Yudhoyono cabinet are successful or not. If Yudhoyono rejects them, and they revert again to their anti-neoliberal demagoguery, their credibility will have been damaged greatly. The party which Dita Sari and her supporters backed during the May parliamentary election, the Star Reformation Party (PBR), has already joined the Yudhoyono coalition, although it no longer has seats in the national parliament. Dita Sari appears to have resigned from the PRD altogether in order to support Kalla in the presidential election.</p>
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			<p>http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/Indonesia_2009_Elections.pdf</p> <p>-0- Southeast Asian Affairs 2009 edited by Daljit Singh</p> <p>Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP, Partai Demokrasi Perjuangan) was the only major established party not represented in Yudhoyono's cabinet http://books.google.com/books?id=K8qt5xLK2rwC&pg=PA113&lpg=PA113&dq=yudhoyono+cabinet+2009+pdip&source=bl&ots=7DjcsmlYwY&sig=JFxio0LhxJDFwzMb3d8mcOp-058&hl=en&sa=X&ei=BML_VK3KMo2uogTto4DoDw&ved=0CCMQ6AEwAjgK#v=onepage&q=yudhoyono%20cabinet%202009%20pdip&f=false</p> <p>-0- SBY Second term cabinet members. Are they dreaming team cabinet members, or the weakest?</p> <p>By: Muhammad Jusuf *</p> <p>Indonesian Elected President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and his runningmate Budiono were sworn in as a 2009-2014 Indonesian President and Vice President in the front of Indonesian Parliament members on Tuesday, October 20, 2009 in Parliament building in Jakarta. Present on the event Malaysian Prime Minister, Australian Prime Minister, Timor Lester Prime Minister, and Singapore Prime Minister and the United States Representative and other foreign representatives.</p> <p>Wednesday night, at 22.00 local times, SBY on the press conference announce his 34 cabinet members. Other three Indonesian highest ranking on cabinet minister level, Attorney General Minister, Indonesian Police Chief and Army in Chief Still continuing his job. "Those three peoples still continuing their job, and in the right time, we will replace them to another peoples," said SBY on the Press Conferences in Presidential palace residences in Jakarta. Indonesian vice President Boediono present on the press conferences.</p> <p>Ten ministers from the previous Cabinet were re-named, albeit with different portfolios. The only major surprise was the selection of Endang Rahayu Sedyaningih as health minister, apparently replacing the frontrunner for the job, Nila Juwita Anfasha Moeloek.</p> <p>The latter, according to media reports earlier in the day, failed her checkup, which was one of the prerequisites set by the President in his screening process. Nila's aide told journalists the frontrunner was heartbroken at being passed over, while her house was already receiving premature congratulatory bouquets.</p>
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			<p>Minister of Culture and Tourism: Jero Wacik Minister of Communication and Information: Tifatul Sembiring State Ministers State Secretary: Sudi Silalahi State Minister Research and Technology: Suharna Surapranata State Minister for Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises: Syarifuddin Hasan State Minister for the Environment: Gusti M. Hatta State Minister for Women's Empowerment: Linda A. Gumelar State Minister for Administrative Reforms: E. E. Mangindaan State Minister for Disadvantaged Regions: Ahmad Helmi Faisal Zaini State Minister for National Development Planning/National Development Planning Board chairman: Armida Alisjahbana State Minister for State Enterprises : Mustafa Abubakar State Minister for Youth and Sports Affairs : Andi Mallarangeng State Minister for Public Housing : Suharso Manoarfa State officials Head of State Intelligence Agency : Sutanto Head of Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) : Gita Irawan Wirjawan Presidential Unit for the Management of Reform Programs (UKP3R) : Kuntoro Mangkusubroto</p> <p>The weakest members?</p> <p>If we look at the figure of the cabinet members, there are 12 members from Indonesian leading parties, and the rest are from professional, not only from Moslem background, but also from Christian background like Poernomo Yusril from Catholic and Mari Elka Pangestu also as a Christian. Even the Javanese ethnicity mostly is Javanese, but some of them represent non-Javanese, like former West Sumatra province governor Gumawan Fauzi, Minang ethnicity from West Sumatra as a Home Affairs Minister, Gusti M Hatta from Lambung Mangkurat University of South Kalimantan provinces as a newly Environmental Minister and former Fishery Minister Freddy Numbery is Papuan ethnicity to become a Transportation Minister.</p> <p>But, today, Thursday, October 22, 2009 hundreds of students went to the Ambon city street to demonstrate to show their oppositions on the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono cabinet members composition, because no one cabinet minister member is from Moluccas ethnicity. "Our province</p>
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			<p>is the 8 provinces which sign the Indonesian independent declaration," vow the Ambonese students on the streets.</p> <p>The students block the Moluccas palace offices in Ambon and the access street to the Ambon city International airport, so hundreds of airplane passenger delay and postpone their journey to other cities.</p> <p>Likely, SBY to heavy to compromise to the Political Parties which support him in the last Presidential candidacy campaign. If we look at composition of the three of the Coordinating Minister</p> <p>Former Indonesian State Secretary Minister Hatta Radjasa who also as one of the National Mandate Party (PAN) chairman to become Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs. He is not having an economic education bag round, he is an engineers. And we look at the other economic minister bag round, like Sri Mulyani as a Finance Minister, and Mohamad S Hidayat, former Industry and Commerce Chambered Association Chairman to become an Industry Minister, the focus on the cabinet members programmed is heavily to the fiscal and finance problems, not an industrialization programmed.</p> <p>One of the weakest Indonesian programmed are how to improve their industrial product quality and comparative advantage we compare to other countries, that is why most of Indonesian industrial product have weakest quality product and the value and prices of product more expensive than import product from China, India and from other countries such as Vietnam.</p> <p>Is the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono second term are a dream team cabinet members or just more weak than before the first term. The history will tell the truth and the fact, either in the first 100 days programmed, the first year term or just wait in the next five years?</p> <p>SBY Second term cabinet members. Are they dreaming team cabinet members, or the weakest?</p> <p>* Journalistic lecture at Hidayatullah School of Economic (STIE) Depok</p> <p>http://www.allvoices.com/contributed-news/4455494-sby-second-term-cabinet-members-are-they-dreaming-team-cabinet-members-or-the-weakest</p> <p>www.muhammadjusuf.freelife.com www.bali-indonesia-travel.webs.com</p>
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Kenya 1997-2007

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Kenya 1997	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0	Kibaki lodged a petition at the High Court challenging the election results on the grounds that there had been irregularities in the electoral process. However, it looks like the post-election violence started spontaneously and not as a direct action or strategy followed by Kibaki or his party after the election.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 29 December 1997 <i>Winner:</i> Daniel Arap Moi – Kenya African National Union <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Mwai Kibaki – Democratic Party</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In 1997 Mwai Kibaki disputed Daniel Moi’s re-election and again Kenya moved on as his petition dragged on for two years before it was also thrown out on a technicality. In both cases part of Kenya moving on included swearing in the declared winner despite a petition against him. http://www.kenyalondonnews.org/?p=3556</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Odinga first ran for president in 1997, where he was declared third. The declared runner-up of that election, then opposition leader Mwai Kibaki, contested the results in court under the old constitution that did not have only general provisions for presidential elections and no strict timelines. Kibaki’s petition was never heard because the case was thrown out on a technicality. http://www.ijmonitor.org/2013/03/petitions-call-into-question-kenyas-march-4-general-elections/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In the presidential race, President Moi’s margin of victory over his nearest rival, Mwai Kibaki of the DP, was less than 10 per cent, with the latter having obtained the majority of votes in two provinces. In Central Province, Mwai Kibaki obtained almost 90 per cent of the votes cast compared to Daniel Arap Moi’s 5.6 per cent, while in Nairobi, he obtained slightly over 43 per cent of the votes compared to Daniel Arap Moi’s 20 per cent. After the announcement of the results, Mwai Kibaki lodged a petition at the High Court challenging the election results on the grounds that there had been irregularities in the electoral process. At the same time, KANU formed parliamentary alliances with most of the other opposition parties, including FORD Kenya, the National Development Party (NDP) and the Kenya Social Congress...Although the 1997 elections</p>

			<p>passed off with less violence than had been the case in 1992, events in January 1998 put paid to any hopes that political violence might be a thing of the past in Kenya. On the night of 11 January 1998, some members of the Pokot and Samburu ethnic groups raided the home of a Kikuyu widow at a place called Mirgwit in the Laikipia District of the Rift Valley Province. [...]</p> <p>Although the 1997 elections passed off with less violence than had been the case in 1992, events in January 1998 put paid to any hopes that political violence might be a thing of the past in Kenya. On the night of 11 January 1998, some members of the Pokot and Samburu ethnic groups raided the home of a Kikuyu widow at a place called Mirgwit in the Laikipia District of the Rift Valley Province. The raiders raped the woman and stole some livestock from the household. A group of Kikuyu men followed the raiders but, having failed to catch up with them, entered a Samburu compound where, in retaliation, they mutilated livestock that they found there. Mutilation of livestock is highly taboo for pastoralists such as the Samburu and Pokot. Accordingly, it was almost inevitable that there would be some kind of response by the owners of the livestock.</p> <p>On the night of 13 January 1998, some Pokot and Samburu men attacked Kikuyu communities in the Magande, Survey, Motala, Milimani and Mirgwit areas of Ol Moran in Laikipia. It appears that the attackers were armed not only with spears, bows and arrows, but also with guns. It was claimed that some of the attackers were dressed in military-type clothing. It has been estimated that over 50 Kikuyus were killed during these attacks and over 1000 others fled the area and sought refuge at the Roman Catholic Church at Kinamba, from where they were later relocated to temporary shelters at Sipili and Ol Moran. On 21 January, about 70 unidentified people invaded three farms in Njoro including one belonging to the newly elected DP Member of Parliament for Molo Constituency, Kihika Kimani. Three days later, groups of what local residents described as Kalenjins attacked Kikuyus in parts of Njoro in the same constituency. There were varying explanations given for these attacks. One version of events blamed them on the refusal of local Kikuyu traders to supply goods and services to Kalenjins in response to the events in Laikipia. Another suggested that this was simply an unprovoked attack on Kikuyus by local Kalenjins youths. The attack on Kikuyus on 24 January provoked a counter-attack by a group of apparently wellorganised Kikuyus, who on 25 January attacked Kalenjins residents of Naishi/Lare in Njoro.</p> <p>According to police reports, 34 Kikuyus and 48 Kalenjins were killed during these initial attacks and over 200 houses were burnt down. Hundreds of people from both communities were displaced by the fighting, and many of them fled to temporary 'camps' at Kigonor, Sururu, Larmudiac mission and Mauche. During its visit to Kenya the joint mission witnessed the very poor conditions in which displaced people in these camps were living. Sporadic fighting continued during February</p>
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			<p>and March 1998. By 11 March, police reports were estimating that at least 127 people had been killed since the 'clashes' had begun in January.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>There was also strong evidence that tensions had been fanned by various parliamentary candidates through potentially inflammatory campaign speeches during the run-up to the December elections. These tensions came to a head following the lodging of Mwai Kibaki's petition challenging the results of the elections. A significant number of KANU supporters regarded the petition as 'politically wrong' and responded angrily to it. Given the narrowness of KANU's and President Moi's victories, this reaction was hardly surprising.</p> <p>Suspicion that the violence had a strong political dimension was further heightened by the apparent unwillingness of the police to quell it with the same zeal with which they had dealt with other 'public disorder' incidents — particularly those related to activities by anti-government protesters. It was suggested by many observers that the unwillingness of the police to act against the perpetrators of the</p> <p>Source: Kanyongolo, Edge, and Jon Lunn. Kenya Post-Election Political Violence. Article 19: Global Campaign for Free Expression: 4-5. http://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/kenya-post-election-political-violence.pdf.</p>
Kenya 2002	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Ruling party candidate Uhuru Kenyatta conceded defeat</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 27 December 2002 <i>Winner:</i> Mwai Kibaki – National Rainbow Coalition <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Uhuru Kenyatta – Kenya African National Union</p> <p>Kibaki wins Kenya's presidency, Kenyatta concedes</p> <p>CHANGEOVERAfter 39 years in power, Kenya's African National Union Party lost its grip on power to a veteran politician who says he will crack down on corruption</p> <p>AFP AND AP , NAIROBI Veteran politician Mwai Kibaki and his opposition alliance have won a landslide victory in Kenyan elections, breaking the ruling party's 39-year grip on power, according to figures from an independent body monitoring the election. With most of the ballots counted, the 71-year-old economist, who is leader of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), had 62.4 percent of the votes, the Institute for Education in Democracy said.</p>

			<p>Ruling party candidate Uhuru Kenyatta conceded defeat yesterday in Kenya's presidential election and said he would take up the leadership of the opposition.</p> <p>"I accept your choice and in particular now concede that Mr. Mwai Kibaki will be the third president of the republic of Kenya," Kenyatta, the candidate of the long-ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), told a news conference in Nairobi. "I accept the will of the people," he said.</p> <p>The electoral commission was expected early yesterday afternoon to confirm that Kibaki, 71, and his NARC had won a large majority in the polls.</p> <p>The Institute for Education in Democracy, an international donor-funded institute which is part of an umbrella of organizations monitoring the election, said 5,181,886 votes had been counted by 9:30am yesterday, and Kibaki had tallied 3,232,557 votes to Kenyatta's 1,530,713. The remaining votes were shared among three other minor candidates.</p> <p>Turnout was 56 percent, the institute said. Some 10.5 million Kenyans had registered to vote for president, 210 members of parliament and 2,104 local councilors.</p> <p>The opposition alliance had captured 121 of 185 parliamentary seats so far counted, compared to KANU's 47, the institute said. The other seats were won by smaller parties.</p> <p>Kenya has 210 parliamentary constituencies and results from some remote areas, where voting was delayed because of heavy rain, had not been released.</p> <p>The Electoral Commission had Kibaki leading by a 2-to-1 vote margin. Based on tallies from 135 constituencies, Kibaki received 2,573,395 votes, compared with Kenyatta's 1,223,086, the commission said. NARC had garnered 88 seats in parliament to KANU's 36.</p> <p>Final official results were expected later yesterday.</p> <p>Kenyatta was hand-picked by President Daniel arap Moi, who has ruled Kenya for 24 years and is constitutionally obliged to step down at the end of his current five year term.</p> <p>"The Kenyan people have now spoken, and it is with great joy and humility that we accept their trust in president-elect Kibaki and NARC," Raila Odinga, a leading member of NARC, said Saturday as results trickled in.</p> <p>Kibaki, who has been a leading opposition figure since multiparty politics were reintroduced in 1991, was Moi's vice president from 1978 to 1988.</p> <p>http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2002/12/30/0000189107</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Kenya: Uhuru Kenyatta Concedes Defeat in Presidential Poll 29 DECEMBER 2002 DOCUMENT</p>
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			<p>Nairobi — This election has been a glowing tribute to all the people of Kenya. The campaign has been peaceful yet competitive, and has provided the freedom of choice to each and everyone. Our country has once again demonstrated its stability and maturity, so let us now ensure it attains its rightful place in the world order.</p> <p>We must now turn our attention to ensuring that all those leaders and representatives you have elected deliver on their promises, be unselfish, realistic and honest as they fulfil their responsibilities and, above all, provide the change for which you have all voted.</p> <p>http://allafrica.com/stories/200212290431.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Uhuru Kenyatta Concedes defeat in Kenyan poll</p> <p>Nairobi- Kenya (PANA) -- Former ruling KANU presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta on Sunday accepted defeat in last Friday's general elections in Kenya and pledged to support the president elect, Mwai Kibaki of the opposition National Rainbow Coalition (Narc) party.</p> <p>"I accept the people's choice and I do now concede that Mwai Kibaki would be the third president of the republic of Kenya," Uhuru told a press conference in Nairobi.</p> <p>Uhuru said Kenya was an example to other African countries saying that contrary to the image portrayed in the West about Africa, it was possible to have a peaceful transition.</p> <p>"I thank President (Daniel arap) Moi for ensuring a peaceful transition and this gives hope to the whole African continent that we can nurture and ensure that democracy takes root in our continent," the son of Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta, adding that this practice fitted in well with the spirit of African Renaissance.</p> <p>The Kenya African National Union candidate was trailing Kibaki with more than one million votes although counting was still going on in some parts of the country.</p> <p>He appealed to the president-elect to deliver on the promises he made during campaigns.</p> <p>"The biggest challenge facing the new government would be to keep up with the expectations Kenyans have of them," said Uhuru, who was flanked by several KANU officials.</p> <p>He said he was ready to lead KANU as the official opposition party in parliament and to restructure it for the next polls due in 2007.</p> <p>The first to concede defeat was Ford People presidential candidate Simeon Nyachae as well as his Social Democratic Party counterpart James Orengo who have come third and fourth in the polls, respectively.</p>
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			<p>Narc has scored a landslide victory thanks to a 15-party opposition coalition, including bigwigs who crossed from the ruling KANU after Moi unilaterally nominated Uhuru Kenyatta as its flag-bearer in the crucial poll. 29 december 2002 13:25:00 http://www.panapress.com/Uhuru-Kenyatta-Concedes-defeat-in-Kenyan-poll--13-470768-18-lang2-index.html</p>
Kenya 2007	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1</p>	<p>Before the official results had been released, both parties declared victory. Raila Odinga and the Orange Democratic Movement have rejected the election of Kibaki, threatening to name Odinga as the “people’s president.” Contention over the election culminated in violence across the country, which ceased only with the signing of an agreement creating the position of a Prime Minister for runner-up, Mr. Odinga. Raila immediately disputed this victory and most likely with the benefit of hindsight chose not to go to court with a petition. He instead called for mass action. January 2nd. Kibaki today invited all members of the new opposition-dominated parliament to a meeting. January 12. The opposition called Friday for three days of rallies to protest Kenya's disputed presidential election, igniting fears of more deadly violence. February 21. Mr. Odinga’s party, said that unless the government supported a constitutional amendment to create a position of prime minister, giving them</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 27 December 2007 <i>Winner:</i> Mwai Kibaki – Party of National Unity (Kenya) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Raila Odinga – Orange Democratic Movement</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>A presidential election was held as part of the Kenyan general election on 27 December 2007; parliamentary elections were held on the same date.[1] Incumbent President Mwai Kibaki was declared the winner and sworn in at State House Nairobi on 30 December, despite opposition leader Raila Odinga's claims of victory.[2][3] There is agreement in the international community that the elections were at least partially manipulated.[4] In July 2008, an exit poll commissioned by the US was released, revealing that Odinga won the election by a comfortable margin of 6%, 46% to 40%, well outside of the exit poll's 1.3% margin of error.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Sun, Mar 17th, 2013 Kenya Elections / Kenya News / News By admin The Supreme Court Will Decide What Direction Future Election Disputes Take</p> <p>In 2007 Mwai Kibaki was declared the winner and hurriedly sworn in. Raila immediately disputed this victory and most likely with the benefit of hindsight chose not to go to court with a petition. He instead called for mass action. Kibaki’s victory was not nullified but the country was also not able to move on until a negotiated power settlement was reached. This was not an ideal situation for everybody, and only came up because of the death and destruction that Kenya was going through as it stood still.</p> <p>http://www.kenyalondonnews.org/?p=3556</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

		<p>a meaningful role in government, they would take to the streets.</p> <p>February 29. The country seemed to let out a collective cheer as Mwai Kibaki, the president, and Raila Odinga, the top opposition leader, sat down at a desk in front of the president's office, with a bank of television cameras rolling, and signed an agreement that creates a powerful prime minister position for Mr. Odinga and splits cabinet posts between the government and the opposition.</p>	<p>Columns of black smoke boiled up from the slums ringing Nairobi, the capital, as supporters of Raila Odinga, the leading presidential challenger, poured into the streets to protest what they said was a plot by the government to steal the vote. The demonstrators clashed with police officers in riot gear and tore apart metal shanties with their bare hands. The scene replayed itself in Kisumu, Kakamega, Kajiado, Eldoret and other towns across Kenya, with several people killed. Just 12 hours before, Mr. Odinga, a flamboyant politician and businessman, had been cruising to victory, according to preliminary results. He was leading Kenya's president, Mwai Kibaki, by about one million votes in an election that was predicted to be the most fiercely fought in Kenya's history and perhaps the greatest test yet of this young, multiparty democracy.</p> <p>...Both parties declared victory on Saturday, saying that by their calculations they had won the most votes. But by 1 pm, the election commission had counted only 8 million votes out of a projected 10 to 11 million. The hush inside the heavily guarded election headquarters was a marked contrast to the raging street battles not far away.</p> <p>Source: Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Riots Batter Kenya as Rivals Declare Victory." <i>The New York Times</i>, 30 Dec. 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/30/world/africa/30kenya.html?ref=railaodinga&_r=0.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The dubious conclusion of the most fiercely fought election in Kenya's history has pitched the country toward chaos. The opposition rejected the results and vowed to inaugurate its leader, Raila Odinga, as "the people's president," which the government warned would be tantamount to a coup. As riots spread, the government took the first steps toward martial law on Sunday night and banned all live media broadcasts...The Odinga camp urged election officials to recount the votes after exposing serious discrepancies between the results announced on the night of the election versus the numbers that were later entered into a national total.</p> <p>Source: Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Disputed Vote Plunges Kenya Into Bloodshed." <i>The New York Times</i>, 31 Dec. 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/31/world/africa/31kenya.html?ref=railaodinga.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mwai Kibaki has kept a low profile during the violence that has swept Kenya since his disputed presidential re-election. In what critics will see as a belated move to contain the crisis that has</p>
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			<p>claimed more than 300 lives, Kibaki today invited all members of the new opposition-dominated parliament to a meeting.</p> <p>Source: Tran, Mark, David Beresford, and Fred Attewill. "Low-key Leader's Slow Rise to Power." The Guardian, 2 Jan. 2008. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jan/02/kenya.davidberesford.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Opposition calls for nationwide protests January 12, 2008 NAIROBI, KENYA — The opposition called Friday for three days of rallies to protest Kenya's disputed presidential election, igniting fears of more deadly violence. Police said they would not allow the demonstrations.</p> <p>Days of international mediation failed to break a deadlock between President Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, who came in second.</p> <p>"Kenyans are entitled to protest peacefully at this blatant violation of their fundamental rights," said Anyang Nyong'o, secretary general of Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2008-01-12/news/0801110385_1_raila-odinga-protest-igniting-fears</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The political situation in Kenya remains tense and difficult to predict, with mediators from both sides engaged in heated talks about how to resolve a post-election crisis that has claimed more than 1,000 lives and destabilized the country. The trouble erupted in December after Kenya's election commission declared Mr. Kibaki, the incumbent, the winner of the presidential election over Raila Odinga, the top opposition leader, despite widespread evidence of vote rigging. On Wednesday, leaders from the Orange Democratic Movement, Mr. Odinga's party, said that unless the government supported a constitutional amendment to create a position of prime minister, giving them a meaningful role in government, they would take to the streets.</p>
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Korea (South) 1987-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Korea 1987	1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1	Both the second place and the third place candidates immediately expressed their unwillingness to accept the result of the election and their plans to stage a protest. In addition, there is a report that indicates that the second place candidate did actually carry out a protest. Public reaction has been cool to allegations of widespread irregularities in the election. Opposition calls for	<p><i>* For all Korean names listed below, the family name comes first and is followed by the given name. When there was a conflict in the Romanization of names between the official National Election Commission document and common media usage, I followed the latter.</i></p> <p><i>Election date:</i> December 16, 1987 <i>Winner:</i> Roh Tae-woo (Democratic Justice Party) 36.6% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Kim Young-sam (Reunification Democratic Party) 28.0% Kim Dae-jung (Peaceful Democratic Party) 27.0% Kim Jong-pil (New Democratic Republican Party) 8.1%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. "Results of Presidential Elections."</p>

		<p>nationwide demonstrations to protest the outcome drew little response.</p>	<p>http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>REACTIONS OF THE THREE KIMS</p> <p>Kim Jong-pil, who had no illusions about the results of the election, immediately conceded, accepted the verdict, and pledged his support for stability. He congratulated Roh Tae-woo and sent him flowers.</p> <p>The RDP formed a panel to push for nullification of vote results, and there was a 24-hour sit-in protest against the “rigged and fraudulent election.” On December 17, Kim Young-sam said he would lead a massive campaign to invalidate the election results. “I am ready to sacrifice my life to oust the current military regime,” he said angrily. Kim Dae-jung also refused to concede defeat. Of course, the two Kims had plenty of reasons to complain. During the campaign, the ruling party and the government had spent lavishly, distorted the political coverage on state-run television stations, and induced and coerced votes for Roh Tae-woo from the employees of government and business.</p> <p>No doubt there were fake registrations, mistreatment of election observers, and misuse of the absentee ballots of soldiers. Some soldiers were forced to vote for Roh in front of superior officers. There was also the piano-playing scheme, in which ballot counters smeared ink with their fingers—thereby invalidating the vote. (<i>end p. 125</i>) And there was the relay-vote scheme, in which an organized band of voters passed along an extra, blank ballot that was used to vote for the candidate.</p> <p>The extent of the vote rigging could never be ascertained. No one will ever know fully what really did happen. The PPD demanded that Roh Tae-woo quit as president-elect, and Kim Dae-jung accused the DJP of computer manipulation to rig the election results. Kim Jong-pil, after the election, told the author that this was the most corrupt and fraudulent election he had ever seen.</p> <p>In the meantime, Representative Solarz issued a statement endorsing the validity of the Korean election results. Paek Ki-wan demanded that the two Kims apologize to the people. Five lawmakers who had left the Kims during the campaign demanded an overhaul of the opposition forces.</p> <p>In the streets of Seoul, things were calm. People were tired because they had had to go through so many taxing political events in 1987—the June uprising, the constitutional revision, labor unrest, an endless number of campus rallies and student demonstrations, and the presidential election. The whole nation was fatigued; the people had no energy left to go out in the streets to demand another election and nullify the one they had just had. Besides, the majority of Koreans accepted the verdict.</p> <p>In the minds of many voters the two Kims’ failure to unite during the presidential campaign was a bigger crime than the irregularities and manipulation by the government and the ruling party. Sporadic flare-ups of violence occurred in many parts of Korea after the election; but only Kwangju and the Cholla provinces and parts of Seoul, especially the Kuro District, were affected by serious</p>
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			<p>violence. Citizens throughout Korea reacted coolly to the two Kims, while Kim Jong-pil's popularity skyrocketed. On December 19, Kim Dae-jung proposed to Kim Young-sam a coalition to nullify the election results. Angry and dejected, Kim Young-sam swiftly said no.</p> <p>Kim Dae-jung's followers still believe that the 1987 presidential election was decided by the intervention of the Home and Defense Ministries, the Central Election Administration Office, the intelligence community, and the DJP. Kim Dae-jung's camp said they knew there had been widespread fraud in the election but felt frustrated because they could not obtain concrete evidence. After the election, the PPD listed the following irregularities in vote counting:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Many opposition inspectors were forced out during the vote counting. 2. 'Ghost,' or multiple, voters numbered more than 930,000. According to the government, from December 1981 to December 1987 the total number of Koreans above 14 years of age was 26,200,000. But during six years, 1,260,000 died. Therefore, the total number of voters in this election could not exceed 24,940,000. But the government said the total eligible voters were 25,870,000. Therefore, at least 930,000 voters were ghost voters. 3. Tens of thousands of votes were invalidated. (<i>end p. 90</i>) 4. Ballot boxes were switched by the police. 5. In Busan there were at least 450,000 voters from Honam region. Kim Dae-Jung received only 180,000. Yet in 1971, Kim Dae-jung had received 500,000 votes. 6. Computer manipulation was practiced. Before the election results were known. It was revealed that Roh Tae-woo would get 8 million votes and the two Kims about 6 million votes each. 7. Absentee ballots were blatantly misused by the ruling party. <p>Source: Lee, Manwoo. 1990. <i>The Odyssey of Korean Democracy</i>. New York: Praeger. pp. 89-91.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Reunification Democratic Party leader Kim announced in the press conference in the afternoon of that day [December 17th] that "As the election was a fundamentally rigged one, it is wholly invalidated, and I will lead the fight to bring down the Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo military regime."</p> <p>[Reunification Democratic] Party chief Kim made the above announcement on the day that Candidate Roh was decided as the president-elect of the presidential election in which he also ran as a candidate and stated, "I will put my life on the line for this holy fight which will give liberty and justice to the people" and also that he plans "to hold a large-scale national rally."</p> <p>Meanwhile, at the Christian Center, Peaceful Democratic Party chief Kim and 14 leaders of the organizations that supported Kim in the presidential election, including those that formed the Organization for People's Movement to Win Democratic Constitution—among them, Moon Ik-</p>
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			<p>hwan, the president of the Coalition for Democratic Reunification and People’s Movement—held a preparation meeting for a national rally against the alleged fraudulent election and concluded that “This election was a fundamentally rigged election in which planned malpractice was carried out by mobilizing government power and money” and said “therefore, we cannot accept the election result.”</p> <p>In that day’s meeting, Kim and other participants decided to organize National Council for the Fight against the Fraudulent Election in which democratic political parties including the Reunification Democratic Party and Peaceful Democratic Party and all democratic movement organizations participate, and then proceed with more specific fights. They will be holding a second meeting on the 18th, at 3 p.m. at the Christian Center.</p> <p>Source: <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>. December 18, 1987. “The Opposition: ‘Fight for Election Nullification.’”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The Democratic Party, which has been waging a resolute fight against the ruling party—staging a hunger strike in the process—has expressed its intention to participate in the 13th National Assembly election through a press conference by the party leader Kim Young-sam. This could be a sign that the political situation will transform itself from that marked by strained relationships to that marked by dialogue and negotiation. As the Peaceful Democratic Party is also indicating its intention to hold a negotiation between the ruling party and the opposition, and as the Democratic Justice Party has also proposed talks to the opposition to discuss the National Assembly Member Election Act, the prospect for a dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition in the early new year has become brighter.</p> <p>Source: <i>The Dong-A Ilbo</i>. December 22, 1987. “A Breakthrough for a Negotiation for the Strained Political Situation.”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Korean Police Rout 2,000 Vote Protesters December 19, 1987 By Ronald E. Yates, Chicago Tribune. SEOUL — Police firing tear gas stormed a vote-counting center in Seoul Friday to evict about 2,000 students who had occupied the building to protest what they said was a fraudulent victory by the government candidate in Korea’s presidential election.</p>
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			<p>After a two-hour battle in which dozens of people were injured, 913 protesters were detained for questioning; about 80 of them were charged. The protesters, who took over the building Wednesday, had claimed that a ballot box containing 4,500 absentee ballots was being removed illegally from the center, in a truck containing food and other items.</p> <p>In Washington, however, a State Department official told Congress that election monitors found no evidence of widespread vote fraud, and President Reagan expressed his support for the election victor, Roh Tae Woo.</p> <p>A few hours later, the nation`s main opposition party issued a formal apology to the Korean people, saying its failure to field a single candidate was the main reason for its defeat.</p> <p>“Our party admits that the defeat of the opposition camp in the Dec. 16 election despite the ardent support of the people for the termination of military rule was mainly due to the failure to field a single opposition candidate,” said a statement issued by the Reunification Democratic Party.</p> <p>The party, the largest opposition organization in South Korea, is headed by Kim Young Sam, who, along with Kim Dae Jung, was defeated by the ruling party`s Roh in Wednesday`s election-the first presidential voting in 16 years. “Our party apologizes again to the people, reflecting on ourselves for the failure to field a single candidate,” Reunification Democratic Party spokesman Kim Hyung Rhae said.</p> <p>About 50 people were injured in the melee at the vote-counting center, including 24 police officers, a government official said. One student jumped from the roof of the four-story building, apparently trying to commit suicide. He suffered broken legs.</p> <p>Similar, though less dramatic, clashes were reported in Kwangju, a Kim Dae Jung stronghold, and in other parts of Seoul, where small knots of demonstrators were quickly dispersed by police.</p> <p>However, in marked contrast to last summer`s widespread street riots, few Koreans showed much sympathy for the students and demonstrators and even fewer were willing to join in street protests.</p> <p>“Why should I?” asked Hyun Un Hung, a Seoul computer component salesman. “The people supported the Kims with more than half of the votes, and they threw it all away because they were only concerned with their personal desire for power.”</p>
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			<p>Other Koreans Friday were skeptical about election-fraud accusations by the two opposition camps. Many said the charges were a smokescreen for the opposition's tactical blunder in fielding two candidates.</p> <p>The National Election Commission issued final figures Friday showing that Roh got 36.9 percent of the vote, followed by Kim Young Sam with 28 percent, Kim Dae Jung with 26.9 percent and Kim Jong Pil with 8 percent.</p> <p>Meanwhile, a delegation of U.S. congressional aides who visited Korea to monitor the elections said its members did observe some violations on election day, but it stopped short of saying the abuses were systematic and widespread. "We are simply raising questions about the integrity of the election process based on what we observed, and we hope the Koreans will fully investigate," said delegation head Jan Kalicki, former foreign policy adviser to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) and executive director of the Center for Foreign Policy at Brown University.</p> <p>Members of the American team said they met election observers who were beaten, and interviewed people who had been given money and other gifts to buy or withhold their votes.</p> <p>Other abuses included a counterfeit ballot, multiple voter registration cards and a sealed ballot box in an illegal location outside a polling station.</p> <p>"Obviously the government prosecutor's office will look into and investigate all such charges," said Choi Chang Yoon, vice minister of culture and information.</p> <p>Gaston Sigur, assistant secretary of state for east Asian and Pacific affairs, Friday told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia that</p> <p>"there may have been certain irregularities, but basically no systematic fraud" on a scale that could have changed the outcome of the balloting.</p> <p>Sigur said the election generally "appears to have been conducted in an open and orderly manner."</p> <p>White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said President Reagan sent Roh a letter saying the American government looks forward to working with him and pledging the "full support" of the United States. Fitzwater said Reagan also remarked on the "impressive openness" with which Roh and his opponents presented their ideas during the campaign.</p>
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			<p>“Mr. Roh’s pledge to continue the democratization process was, the President said, a key element in his victory,” Fitzwater said.</p> <p>The U.S. and Japanese governments have already put their stamp of approval to the election and both have sent congratulatory messages to Roh. The Japanese also said that Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita would attend Roh’s inauguration next February—a first for a Japanese prime minister.</p> <p>http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1987-12-19/news/8704040277_1_street-protests-kim-dae-jung-kim-young-sam</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>SPLIT OPPOSITION VOWS TO OVERTURN ELECTION RESULTS PAUL SHIN , Associated Press Dec. 22, 1987 1:36 PM ET</p> <p>SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA SEOUL, South Korea (AP) _ The split opposition said Tuesday it would take part in 1988 parliamentary elections, the first hint that it might recognize the victory of the governing party's man in last week's presidential elections. The rival opposition parties, however, renewed their pledge to overturn the results of the Dec. 16 voting in which Roh Tae-woo won the presidency. Defeated candidate Kim Young-sam said his Reunification Democratic Party would participate in general elections early next year after a revision of election laws has been negotiated with the government. "We must achieve the unfulfilled task of ending military rule through a revolution in upcoming general elections," he told a news conference. As a general, Roh helped fellow Gen. Chun Doo-hwan gain power in 1980. Chun, now president, hand-picked Roh to succeed him as presidential nominee of the governing Democratic Justice Party. Aides to rival opposition leader Kim Dae-jung also said their Party for Peace and Democracy would hold talks with Democratic Justice on revamping election laws. Roh defeated the two Kims with a plurality of 36.6 percent, but opposition and dissident leaders charge that massive election fraud was behind his victory. The government denies the charges. Kim Young-sam said the elections likely are to be held in April, not February, when the Democratic Justice Party reportedly hopes to hold them. He said his party would need time to reach agreement with the government on new election laws.</p>
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			<p>Under present laws, the party in power is virtually guaranteed a majority of assembly seats through a proportional representation system.</p> <p>Kim Young-sam also apologized for splitting the opposition and enabling Roh to win by failing to agree with Kim Dae-jung on a single opposition candidacy.</p> <p>"I offer my apologies to the people for failing to achieve the ... great cause of ending military rule and attaining democracy," he said.</p> <p>"More than anything else, the failure to field a single opposition candidate is responsible (for the defeat), and I ... realize that I am to be blamed personally."</p> <p>Kim Dae-jung also has apologized.</p> <p>Public reaction has been cool to allegations of widespread irregularities in the election. Opposition calls for nationwide demonstrations to protest the outcome drew little response.</p> <p>One government source, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the government was planning to release about 1,300 prisoners under a planned Christmas amnesty but no "political detainees" would be freed.</p> <p>More than 300 people were arrested for staging violent demonstrations in Seoul and other cities to protest alleged election irregularities.</p> <p>Small-scale clashes were reported Tuesday in the southern city of Kwangju where about 300 demonstrators hurled rocks and firebombs at riot police. There were no reports of arrests or injuries.</p> <p>http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1987/Split-Opposition-Vows-To-Overturn-Election-Results/id-5f0b922286a0d873497507ec3f5c7a18</p>
<p>Korea 1992</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate immediately conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> December 18, 1992 <i>Winner:</i> Kim Young-sam (Democratic Liberal Party) 42.0% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Kim Dae-jung (Democratic Party) 33.8%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. "Results of Presidential Elections." http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>Kim Dae-jung conceded defeat promptly and gracefully. In a healing concession speech unprecedented in Korean politics, Kim "humbly accept[ed] the people's judgement," adding that he firmly believed in Kim Young Sam's "ability to develop democracy in Korea and lay the groundwork for national reunification." Kim had previously lost two presidential bids, against Park Chung Hee in 1971 and Roh Tae Woo in 1987, and after the third defeat resigned his Assembly seat to "let history judge me and live a quiet life." Whether Kim, at age sixty-seven, had forever removed</p>

			<p>himself from the political arena remained to be seen, but he was believed to have won fresh respect from many with his graceful concession speech, which indicated a new level of maturity in Korean electoral (<i>end p. 124</i>) contests. Local media quoted a social worker as summing it up best: “This is a process of democracy, isn’t it?” The peaceful transfer of power to a duly elected civilian president took place on February 25, 1993, the first time in thirty-two years.</p> <p>Source: Oh, John Kie-chiang. 1999. <i>Korean Politics: The Quest for Democratization and Economic Development</i>. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 124-125.</p>
<p>Korea 1997</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate immediately conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> December 18, 1997 <i>Winner:</i> Kim Dae-Jung (National Congress for New Politics) 40.3% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Lee Hoi-chang (Grand National Party) 38.7%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. “Results of Presidential Elections.” http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>In a statement delivered by the campaign press secretary Maeng Hyung-kyu at 3 a.m. on the 19th, Grand National Party candidate Lee Hoi-chang announced that he “expresses his deepest congratulations and respect to Candidate Kim Dae-jung who has won the honor of being elected.” Candidate Lee went on to say “I will fully cooperate with the president-elect and provide all possible assistance in overcoming the current economic crisis without harming stability and harmony” and added, “as the largest party in the National Assembly, the Grand National Party will closely cooperate with the current government as well.”</p> <p>Source: <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>. December 18, 1997. “Full Cooperation with President-Elect Kim.”</p> <p>Losing candidates promptly conceded defeat and accepted the outcome. Only ten years before, the military had issued audible threats to veto the election of Kim Dae-jung, one way or the other, but no such voices were heard this time. When Kim was duly inaugurated on a rare smog-free and sunny morning, February 25, 1998, the peaceful transfer of power from an entrenched ruling camp to an opposition leader was accomplished for the first time in fifty years of republican politics in Korea.</p> <p>Source: Oh, John Kie-chiang. 1999. <i>Korean Politics: The Quest for Democratization and Economic Development</i>. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 124-125.</p>

<p>Korea 2002</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate immediately conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> December 19, 2002 <i>Winner:</i> Roh Moo-hyun (Millennium Democratic Party) 48.9% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Lee Hoi-chang (Grand National Party) 46.6%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. "Results of Presidential Elections." http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>On the 19th, Grand National Party presidential candidate Lee Hoi-chang, with regard to his loss in the presidential race, said that he "congratulates Candidate Roh Moo-hyun, who is now the president-elect," and that "he wishes Roh to become a president who cares about the country and the people." Candidate Lee delivered the message in a press conference held in the central party office around 11 p.m. on that day, and also stated that "I failed to become the people's choice once again, and I accept this as the people's will."</p> <p>After the press conference, Candidate Lee called President-elect Roh, and congratulated him. It has been said that Candidate Lee will announce his retirement from politics as he had promised during the campaign in a press conference to be held on the 20th.</p> <p>Source: <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>. December 20, 2002. "Candidate Lee Likely to Announce Retirement from Politics Today."</p>
<p>Korea 2007</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate immediately conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> December 19, 2007 <i>Winner:</i> Lee Myung-bak (Grand National Party) 48.7% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Chung Dong-young (United New Democratic Party) 26.1%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. "Results of Presidential Elections." http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>United New Democratic Party presidential candidate Chung Dong-young stated in a press conference held in the night of the 19th that he "humbly accepts the people's choice," and that he "hopes that President-elect Lee Myung-bak will do a good job for the country." Candidate Chung</p>

			<p>said “due to my limitations, I failed to live up to the expectations of the people,” and went on: “although I was not chosen, I will always remain together with the people.”</p> <p>Source: <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>. December 20, 2007. “Chung Dong-young: ‘I Humbly Accept People’s Choice’”; Blue House: ‘Congratulations to President-Elect Lee ... Will Do Everything for Successful Transfer of Power.’”</p>
Korea 2012	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The runner-up candidate immediately conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> December 19, 2012 <i>Winner:</i> Park Geun-hye (Saenuri Party) 51.6% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Moon Jae-in (Democratic United Party) 48.0%</p> <p>Source: Republic of Korea National Election Commission. 2013. “Results of Presidential Elections.” http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/05_resourcecenter/07_02.jsp?num=304&pg=1&col=&sw= (accessed June 14, 2013).</p> <p>After his defeat in the presidential race was confirmed, the Democratic United Party candidate Moon Jae-in stated that he “accepts the result of the election and congratulates Candidate Park,” and that he “looks forward to seeing a politics of national harmony and coexistence by President-elect Park.” In addition, he said that he asks “[President-elect Park] to lead the country in a good direction,” and hopes that “the people will give their support to President-elect Park.”</p> <p>Source: <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>. December 20, 2012. “Candidate Moon: ‘I Accept the Result of the Election ... Wish to See a Politics of Harmony and Coexistence.’”</p>

Liberia 2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Liberia 2011	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1</p>	<p>Tubman did not recognize the results of the election. He and his party called for street protests after the results of the election were announced. The protests were called off after starting negotiations with the winning party. There is no evidence that he presented</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> Run-off election held on 8 November 2011 <i>Winner:</i> Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Unity Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Winston Tubman, Congress for Democratic Change</p> <p style="text-align: right;">-0-</p> <p>NOVEMBER</p>

		<p>a formal petition to the Supreme Court asking to declare null the results of the election.</p> <p>Before the second round there was pre-election violence, and a legal challenge. On 14 September, presidential candidate Simeon Freeman of the Movement for Progressive Change filed a petition with the Supreme Court requesting that the Court disqualify the six presidential candidates of the Unity Party, Congress for Democratic Change, Liberty Party, National Democratic Coalition, National Union for Democratic Progress and Liberia Transformation Party. The legal petition was found with no grounds by the Supreme Court.</p>	<p>8 - Liberia: President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf won a second six-year term in office after her opponent Winston Tubman withdrew. As the final results of the first round were declared, CDC candidate Winston Tubman initially indicated that he would be willing to participate in the scheduled run-off despite accusing the National Elections Commission (NEC) of fraudulently altering the vote count. On 4 November, he reversed his decision, withdrew from the run-off, and urged his supporters boycott the election. Reactions from observers and the international community expressed disappointment with Tubman's decision, stating that the first round met democratic standards. One day before the election, clashes outside of CDC headquarters in Monrovia between protesters and the national police left two dead and several wounded. http://africanelections.tripod.com/recent2011.html</p> <p>November 2011 IIJD Newsletter Update Posted on November 05, 2011 Tags: News</p> <p>Liberia: Presidential Run-Off Election Set to Go Ahead Next Week after NEC Chairman Resigns. In early October, Liberia held its presidential election, with incumbent President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who was recently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, winning 43.7% of the vote; Winston Tubman, the American-Liberian nephew of former Liberian President William Tubman, took 32.7%; and former rebel leader, Prince Johnson won 12%. Because there was no clear majority, a run-off is scheduled for November 8th between Sirleaf and Tubman; Johnson recently threw his support behind Sirleaf. Tubman had threatened to boycott the run-off, decrying fraud and favoritism at the National Election Commission (NEC). However, he has since agreed to participate following the resignation of NEC Chairman James Fromayan.</p> <p>- See more at: http://ijjd.org/news/entry/november-2011-ijjd-newsletter-update#sthash.yiHwUGy6.dpuf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Liberia: Ruling Party Rejects Call for Fresh Polls 13 NOVEMBER 2011</p> <p>Liberia's ruling party on Sunday rejected calls by the failed presidential challenger Winston Tubman for fresh elections as the war-scarred nation braced for a fresh opposition rally.</p> <p>Tubman, who pulled out of a last week's presidential run-off citing fraud, on Saturday called for President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's victory to be annulled.</p>
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			<p>http://allafrica.com/stories/201111130175.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Liberia: Opposition calls for new polls in 30 days November 13, 2011 Liberia's opposition Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) of Winston Tubman says they don't recognize the run-off election results, declaring incumbent president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf winner of the November 8 polls.</p> <p>WADR's Monrovia reporter says the CDC on Saturday called for another election within the next 30 days. If that is not done they won't recognize Madam Sirleaf's government as legitimately elected to govern the country for the next 6 years.</p> <p>"A) We believe that everything that flows from Tuesday's elections must be annulled and a new round of elections scheduled within a month;</p> <p>B) We are more determined than ever to press our claims especially after the lethal force unleashed by the President's Security apparatus on our unarmed, innocent people on Monday, November 7, 2011.</p> <p>Thus, how can the President pretend to be seeking to reconcile Liberians while ignoring the deaths and wounding of innocent Liberians by her ERU at her directive?</p> <p>Our position to not recognize the results from the runoff remains unchanged; we will NOT recognize the so called win by President Sirleaf as a result of the very flawed process leading up to the second round of the elections; our party will meet shortly to revisit and re-examine our position and if there's either an enhanced or mitigated position, we will announce it to all," Tubman said in a statement over the weekend.</p> <p>Earlier on Thursday, Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf invited her political opponents and other citizens to a national dialogue, in order to unite the country.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Liberia: Time for Much-Delayed Reconciliation and Reform Dakar/Brussels, 12 June 2012</p>
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			<p>The CDC held a “funeral rally” on 21 November to protest the death and injuries of supporters in that violence, and the following day Tubman promised 30 days of protests in Monrovia, beginning on 28 November. These were called off when the CDC agreed to negotiate with the UP.</p> <p>http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/liberia/b088-liberia-time-for-much-delayed-reconciliation-and-reform.pdf (Saved in constitutions)</p>
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Malawi 1994-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>Malawi 1994</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Africa's longest-ruling dictator, H. Kamuzu Banda, conceded defeat Thursday in Malawi's first democratic election.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 17 May 1994 <i>Winner:</i> Bakili Muluzi, United Democratic Front <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Hastings Banda, Malawi Congress Party</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Stephen Brown, 2004, “Born-Again Politicians Hijacked our Revolution!”: Reassessing Malawi’s Transition to Democracy.” <i>Canadian Journal of African Studies</i>, vol. 38, no. 3 (2004), pp. 705-722</p> <p>Thus, despite some narratives (Ham 1992, 24; Venter 1993, 2; Woods 1992, 21) emphasising the role of popular protest, Malawi was not a case of "democratisation from below." Political liberalisation was, instead, "from above" (elite driven) and, reflecting the key role of Western aid, "from outside," a phenomenon insufficiently recognised in the democratisation literature. In particular, donors' intervention influenced the timing of political liberalisation and -- through continued close involvement -- helped to ensure that the outcome was a democratic one.</p> <p>Those who played important roles in the previous regime are more likely to portray the donors as the driving force behind the multiparty movement.¹⁴ If democracy is successfully portrayed as a foreign imposition, it is more likely to be discarded during difficult times. Thus, although inaccurate, the representation of the transition as mainly a domestic process might enhance chances of democratic survival. Domestic actors did play an important role, but it was more</p>

			<p>interactive with international actors than is commonly thought. For instance, donors provided support to local pro-democracy organisations; activists lobbied bilateral donors to maintain and even increase pressure on Banda's regime; and domestic pressure and isolated instances of violence in turn motivated donors to continue their efforts. Domestic and international actors thus reinforced each other's actions, prompting additional measures.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Malawi President Concedes Defeat May 20, 1994 BLANTYRE, Malawi — Africa's longest-ruling dictator, H. Kamuzu Banda, conceded defeat Thursday in Malawi's first democratic election after voters turned their backs on 30 years of single-party rule.</p> <p>In a shaky voice, the aged, ill and eccentric Banda admitted that results showed his former ally, Bakili Muluzi, was the clear winner.</p> <p>The announcement ends Banda's three decades of often-terrorizing rule over the landlocked African nation. Banda took power at independence from Britain in 1964 and declared himself president for life in 1971. He banned political opposition, detained those who challenged him and allegedly tortured them.</p> <p>http://articles.latimes.com/1994-05-20/news/mn-59975_1_malawi-president-concedes-defeat</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Africa's longest ruling dictator with thirty years at the helm, concedes defeat to Bakili Muluzi in the country's first multi-party election. http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/kamuzu-banda-malawi-africas-longest-ruling-dictator-thirty-years-helm-concedes-defeat-ba</p>
Malawi 1999	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1	Chakuamba and his party rejected the results of the election and went to the Court asking to annul the presidential elections. There were violent demonstrations, Protesters threw	<p><i>Election date:</i> 15 June 1999 <i>Winner:</i> Bakili Muluzi, United Democratic Front <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Gwanda Chakuamba, Malawi Congress Party-Alliance for Democracy</p>

		<p>stones at cars outside the High Court, although it is not clear that the runner-up party organized the protests.</p>	<p>Johannesburg, 8 July 1999 (IRIN) - Malawi's opposition parties have rejected calls by re-elected president Bakili Muluzi to "work together as a people in the best interests of our country".</p> <p>Heatherwick Ntaba, the general secretary of Malawi Congress Party (MCP) told IRIN on Thursday that as far as his party is concerned, Muluzi did not win last month's presidential elections. "We reject Muluzi's so-called mandate to govern the country," Ntaba said.</p> <p>"Muluzi did not win the elections against our candidate Gwanda Chakuamba, he stole the votes. That is why we are going to court on 12 July to ask the judge to annul the presidential elections. We won't concede defeat because we know we did not lose," Ntaba said.</p> <p>He expressed disappointment that international observers declared the 15 June elections "substantially fair", despite at least four of the nine-member national electoral commission having refused to certify the poll results.</p> <p>"In this context, we will never work with someone who is a thief. We have not lost the elections, we were robbed of victory that we think we rightfully deserve," Ntaba said. He added that the only way out of the dispute was for Muluzi to stand down.</p> <p>According to the official election returns, Muluzi won just over 51 percent of the vote beating Chakuamba into second place on 44 percent. http://www.irinnews.org/report/7864/malawi-opposition-spurns-unity-call</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Africa (2013) By J. Tyler Dickovick President Muluzi was reelected with 52.4% of the vote to Gwanda's 45.2%, and the Presidents's UDF won 93 seats in the National Assembly, just shy of a majority on the 192-seat house. The MCP won 66 setas and its AFORD ally picked up 29 seats. The opposition vigorously protested election irregularities and tok their case to the courts, but found no support there. Efforts to boycott parliament failed to find unanimity within the opposition, and rancorous division soon dominated Malawi's politics. (p. 283) http://books.google.com/books?id=ZfSXAAAQBAJ&pg=PA283&lpg=PA283&dq=Gwanda+Chakuamba+conceded+defeat+1999&source=bl&ots=gwk_bWKJca&sig=HzI7XdmRh-qNTzq9ag6yOUz6Pt4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=4MlnU8XqEKaOyAHTpiHYCA&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Gwanda%20Chakuamba%20conceded%20defeat%201999&f=false</p>
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			<p>leading opposition candidate Gwanda Chakuamba, of the Malawi Congress Party and the Alliance for Democracy (MCP-AFORD). The supreme court upheld the results of the election. In polls for the national assembly in 1999 the ruling United Democratic Front (UDF) managed to retain a narrow majority, winning 99 seats compared to 94 for MCP-AFORD.</p> <p>Violence erupted in opposition strongholds of northern Malawi after the 1999 election results indicated wins for the UDF. Supporters of MCP-AFORD attacked mosques, shops, and homes of suspected UDF supporters.</p> <p>http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2002/malawi#.U2fOruD9RYY</p>
<p>Malawi 2004</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>There is no evidence that the party that ended up in second place rejected the election results. Bindon Kutsaira, spokesman for the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), said: "We, as opposition leaders, are going to bury our differences and strategise on the way forward."</p> <p>But the third place, Gwanda Chakuamba, declared himself winner. "They have stolen the election... I think there'll be a court challenge," said Gwanda Chakuamba. Widespread violence followed.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 20 May 2004 <i>Winner:</i> Bingu wa Mutharika, United Democratic Front <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Tembo, Malawi Congress Party</p> <p>General elections was held in Malawi on 20 May 2004 to elect a President and the National Assembly. The election had originally been scheduled for 18 May but was postponed for two days in response to opposition complaints of irregularities in the voter roll. By 22 May no results had been announced, leading to protests from the opposition and threats of disorder. On 25 May the Malawi Electoral Commission finally announced the results of the election. Bingu wa Mutharika, the candidate of the ruling United Democratic Front, was declared the winner of the presidential poll, whilst the Malawi Congress Party had won most seats in the National Assembly vote. Voter turnout was around 62%.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2004-05/24/content_1485773.htm</p> <p>BLANTYRE , Malawi , May 23 (Xinhuanet) -- Riot police Sunday fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse scores of opposition supporters taking on the streets in Malawi 's commercial capital, Blantyre , after the ruling party's candidate was declared the winner of the presidential election in the poor southern African country.</p> <p>Soon after the delayed results were published Sunday by the Malawi Electoral Commission, angry opposition supporters organized a protest rally in Blantyre during which the defeated opposition candidate Gwanda Chakuamba was to make an address.</p>

			<p>Riots rocked three townships of Blantyre after police prevented opposition supporters from attending the rally. Protesters pelted government vehicles and three offices of the ruling United Democratic Front (UDF) were looted and razed.</p> <p>Some department stores and fuel service stations were also attacked. Large parts of Blantyre were inaccessible as huge boulders set up by rioters were still blocking the roads by sunset.</p> <p>Police said they arrested an unspecified number of people.</p> <p>According to results announced by the electoral commission, Bingu wa Mutharika, who was the outgoing president's chosen successor, scooped 1,119,738 votes, making him the winner among the five presidential candidates.</p> <p>Veteran politician John Tembo, candidate for the main opposition Malawi Congress Party (MCP), came second with 846,457 votes.</p> <p>Gwanda Chakuamba, presidential candidate of the seven-party opposition coalition and tipped as the most hopeful by many opinions polls and analysts before the poll, only came third with 802,386 votes. He had declared himself winner of the election Saturday night.</p> <p>National Democratic Alliance (NDA) leader Brown Mpinganjira came fourth with 272,172 votes.</p> <p>Vice-president Justin Malewezi, who marshaled an independent campaign, brought up the rear with 78,892 votes.</p> <p>But the 193-seat parliament will be dominated by Tembo's MCP, with 59 seats. The ruling UDF trailed with 49 seats. Chakuamba's coalition got 28 MPs. Independents candidates took 38 seats.</p> <p>Three million of the 5.7 million registered voters turned out to vote, the electoral commission said.</p> <p>Enditem</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>http://www.afriquecentrale.info/fr/news/news.asp?newsID=340</p> <p>Malawi: vive tension après la présidentielle 23/5/2004</p> <p>La tension était vive dimanche au Malawi où des émeutes ont éclaté à Blantyre après l'annonce de la victoire à l'élection présidentielle du 20 mai de Bingu wa Mathurika, candidat du parti au pouvoir, rejetée par l'un des principaux candidats d'opposition, Gwanda Chakuamba.</p> <p>Dans plusieurs quartiers populaires de la ville, des partisans de l'opposition ont bloqué des routes et dans le township de Chitawira, les bureaux du parti au pouvoir, le Front démocratique uni (UDF), ont été incendiés. La police, présente en masse dans les rues de Blantyre, a dispersé les manifestants à l'aide de gaz lacrymogène.</p>
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			<p>Ils ont également noté des "distributions manifestes et répandues d'argent aux électeurs" et "l'utilisation de fonds publics par le parti au pouvoir".</p> <p>Les observateurs du Commonwealth ont fait le même constat. Ces élections générales étaient les troisièmes en dix années de démocratie au Malawi, un des pays les plus pauvres d'Afrique qui a été dirigé d'une main de fer pendant 30 ans, de 1964 à 1994, par Kamuzu Banda, le "père de l'indépendance". Il avait été battu en 1994 par Bakili Muluzi, réélu en 1999, qui a en vain tenté de modifier la constitution pour briguer un 3ème mandat en 2004.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>http://www.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/africa/05/23/malawi.election.reut/index.html</p> <p>Sunday, May 23, 2004 Posted: 9:19 PM EDT (0119 GMT)</p> <p>Disputed Malawi election sparks violence</p> <p>Offices of the winner's party (UDF) in Blantyre were set on fire during protests against election results.</p> <p>BLANTYRE , Malawi (Reuters) -- Malawi police fired warning shots on Sunday when unrest flared over ruling party candidate Bingu wa Mutharika winning the presidency in a general election the opposition says was rigged.</p> <p>Angry opposition youths blocked roads near the country's main airport with burning tyres and other makeshift barricades, and some shops were looted in one part of the commercial capital Blantyre , witnesses said.</p> <p>Black smoke billowed into the night sky from the reported torching of a Blantyre petrol station shortly after the main opposition parties in the southern African state said they were joining forces to challenge the result of Thursday's poll.</p> <p>Heavily armed police and army units patrolled the streets as officials prepared for Monday's inauguration of Mutharika as president, a ceremony due to be attended by South African President Thabo Mbeki and several other African leaders.</p>
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			<p>The man who placed third in the official standings, Gwanda Chakuamba of the Mgwirizano Coalition, accuses the electoral commission of fraud and says he should have been declared the winner. His coalition says it intends to challenge the results in court.</p> <p>The head of the University of Malawi political science department, Mustafa Kennedy Hussein, places part of the blame for the opposition anger on an electoral system that allows someone to win the presidency with 35 percent of the vote.</p> <p>"I think it is something to do with the electoral system," he said. "Because we would be talking about a different scenario if it was proportional representation. But now the voting pattern is along the regional lines, and it is only people who get the majority, even if they beat others by one vote, they still have to be declared the winner."</p> <p>International election observers have given the poll a mixed evaluation. They say that while voting day was peaceful, there were serious irregularities in voter registration and a heavy bias in the state media toward the ruling party, the United Democratic Front. The European Union also said the ruling party used state resources in its campaign, and that former President Muluzi handed out money at election rallies.</p> <p>The head of the EU observer mission, Marieke Sanders, wants to set the record straight after remarks that the former president made during the swearing-in.</p> <p>"The former president, I have to say, Muluzi, he said that we the international observers had declared the elections as free and fair," he said. "That is definitely not so, because it is too early to give any comments on that, so we will not, we have not done so yet. The final report, that will give the assessment if we think the elections are up to the international standards. Because that is why we are here, to see whether these elections in Malawi were conducted according to international standards."</p> <p>Analysts say the opposition probably has little chance of overturning the election in court.</p> <p>But economists worry that continued unrest and a disputed poll could hurt Malawi's already sagging economy and its standing with international lenders.</p> <p>In his inauguration speech, Mr. Mutharika promised sweeping reforms in the economy, the government and the agricultural sector, to make Malawi, what he called, a hunger-free nation.</p>
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Malawi 2009	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>The main opposition presidential candidate John Tembo claims there was election fraud and has gone to court in protest against elections results. But the court dismissed the case. There is no evidence of non-institutional protest.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 19 May 2009 <i>Winner:</i> Bingu wa Mutharika, United Democratic Front <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Tembo, Malawi Congress Party</p> <p>A General Election was held in Malawi on 19 May 2009. President Bingu wa Mutharika ran for re-election; his main opponent was John Tembo, the President of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Five other candidates also ran.[1] The election was won by Mutharika, who was re-elected to the Presidency with around two-thirds of the vote.[2] Mutharika's DPP also won a strong parliamentary majority.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>MAY 22, 2009</p> <p>E.O. 12958: N/A TAGS: PGOV, KDEM, MI SUBJECT: MALAWI ELECTIONS: MUTHARIKA DECLARED WINNER AND INAUGURATED PRESIDENT</p> <p>REF: A. LILONGWE 266 B. LILONGWE 273 C. LILONGWE 274</p> <p>LILONGWE 00000277 001.2 OF 002</p>

			<p>1. (U) SUMMARY: The Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) formally declared President Bingu wa Mutharika the victor in the country's presidential election in the early morning of May 22. Mutharika was inaugurated for a second term later the same day in the presence of regional dignitaries including Zambian president Rupia Banda and Zimbabwean president Mugabe. Malawian media and civil society organizations recognized Mutharika's clear victory, as did former president Muluzi. MCP candidate John Tembo refused to concede defeat and did not attend the inauguration. At his swearing-in, President Mutharika promised not to seek retribution against his opponents and pledged continued progress on his development agenda. END SUMMARY</p> <p>MEC, MESN AND MEDIA DECLARE BINGU WIN -----</p> <p>2. (U) In the early hours of May 22, the MEC formally declared Bingu wa Mutharika the winner of the 19 May presidential election. MEC Chair Anastasia Msosa announced that results from 93 percent of polling stations had been tabulated, giving Mutharika over 2.7 million votes to John Tembo's 1.3 million. MEC representatives told US officials that the remaining seven percent represented around 600,000 votes -- not nearly enough for Tembo to overcome Mutharika's large lead. MEC went ahead with their declaration of a winner to facilitate the planned inauguration of President Mutharika on May 22. Major independent media outlets had reported returns directly from polling stations on May 21 and had already congratulated the President on his re-election. Most Malawians appeared satisfied both that the election had been conducted properly, and that Mutharika had won handily.</p> <p>3. (SBU) As hoped, MEC's numbers tracked very closely with the statistical sampling conducted by the Malawi Electoral</p>
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			<p>Support Network (MESN) with the support of the National Democratic Institute. President Mutharika took approximately 66 percent of the vote to Tembo's 30 percent, with minor candidates making up the difference. (MESN released its findings to the public early May 22.) Independent candidate James Nyondo, the subject of much controversy in the final month of the election, received less than 1 percent of the vote. The MEC hopes to finalize presidential results sometime next week. Figures so far suggest a turnout of about 68 percent, higher than in Malawi's last national election in 2004.</p> <p>DPP WINS STRONG MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT -----</p> <p>4. (SBU) The MEC expects to finalize parliamentary election results late May 22. Early results show that Mutharika's party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), is likely to attain a two-thirds majority. Both the MCP and UDF suffered considerable parliamentary losses and will no longer be able to block legislation, even acting as a bloc. "Independents" appear to have won nearly 30 of Parliament's 193 seats, but many of these legislators are DPP members who rejected the results of suspect primary elections and ran in the general election. They will further augment the ruling party's caucus, if Mutharika allows them to return to the fold.</p> <p>MULUZI MAKES PEACE AT INAUGURATION -----</p> <p>5. (SBU) President Mutharika was inaugurated for a second term at 11 am May 22 at Kamuzu Stadium in Blantyre. Tens of thousands of supporters attended, along with former president Bakili Muluzi and representatives of Malawi's major institutions. Muluzi greeted and embraced Mutharika on national television in an important gesture of reconciliation and was accorded the rightful place of a former president at</p>
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			<p>the ceremony. MCP candidate John Tembo, for his part, had not yet conceded defeat and did not attend the inauguration. Media editorials castigated Tembo for refusing to admit defeat and move forward. Visiting dignitaries included Zimbabwean President Mugabe and Zambian President Rupia Banda, as well as other vice-presidents or foreign ministers from Rwanda, Swaziland, Namibia, Tanzania, Mauritius, and Mozambique. Amb. Bodde and other heads of diplomatic missions were also present.</p> <p>BODDE http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09LILONGWE277_a.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>John Tembo: Second time unlucky By Raphael Tenthani BBC News, Blantyre Veteran Malawian politician John Zenus Ungapake Tembo hoped 2009 would finally be the year he would win the keys to State House, after 15 years in opposition.</p> <p>As presidential candidate for the Malawi Congress Party, he was banking on his long experience in government and the private sector during the MCP's uninterrupted 30 years under the late dictator, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and a loyal vote from his stronghold - the tobacco heartland of Central region - to make it to State House.</p> <p>But his rival, incumbent President Bingu wa Mutharika, swept to a 66% victory, while Mr Tembo could only muster 31% of the vote, according to the electoral commission.</p> <p>Mr Tembo refused to accept defeat and claimed the elections had been rigged.</p> <p>His party alleged fraud in the counting process and launched a formal complaint with the electoral commission.</p> <p>At 77, Mr Tembo was the oldest among the seven Malawians who vied for the southern African country's top job.</p>
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			<p>But his MCP was destined to come second best for the fourth election in a row, according to electoral commission results.</p> <p>Old timer</p> <p>JZU, as Mr Tembo is popularly known, is Malawi's longest-serving politician, having been Dr Banda's right-hand man during all the three decades he was at the helm.</p> <p>The MCP fought Britain's 70-year colonial rule and governed Malawi from 1964 to 1994, when Dr Banda's former protege, Bakili Muluzi, won power during the country's first multi-party elections.</p> <p>Mr Tembo obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in political philosophy at Roma University in Lesotho 51 years ago.</p> <p>He then taught at various secondary schools back home before entering politics as an MP for the Central Highland district of Dedza in the 1960s.</p> <p>He was appointed finance minister in 1966 and later became the longest-serving central bank chief after being governor for the Reserve Bank of Malawi for a record 13 years.</p> <p>In between he chaired many private and public institutions, including Malawi's largest conglomerate, Press Corporation Limited, as well as Blantyre Print and Packaging, the University of Malawi, the New Building Society and several banks.</p> <p>During the 1990s, he became the all-powerful Treasurer General of the Malawi Congress Party.</p> <p>He later became minister of state in the president's office during the twilight of the MCP stranglehold on power when exiled Malawian politicians started agitating for political change around 1992.</p> <p>Following the death of Dr Banda in 1997, Mr Tembo wrestled power from his life-long political rival Gwanda Chakuamba, who had been anointed MCP leader by the late dictator.</p> <p>Mr Tembo - who is married to Ruth and has three grown-up children - became leader of opposition in parliament in 2004.</p>
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			<p>elections were also challenged but not as vigorously. Based on the number of cases that have been registered so far, it is reasonable to conclude that the involvement of the courts in the relation to the 2009 elections has been higher in the period after polling than before it.</p> <p>In 2004 elections, a large number of cases related to the conduct of party primaries were brought to court, but in 2009 this trend changed and most cases brought before the courts involved conflicts related to events on polling day and were referred to the courts after that day. Kanyongolo (2009) observes that the reasons for the decrease of pre-polling cases could be the introduction of Practice Direction which stipulated that injunctions would no longer be granted to applicants before the parties they were petitioning against had been given an opportunity to be heard. Before the Direction for example, during the 2004 elections, injunctions could be obtained even if the other party had not yet been heard. This made injunctions an attractive tool for securing judicial intervention in every electoral conflict, including those involving internal party disputes, such as during candidate selection phase. It can therefore be opined that judicial intervention was less disruptive of the electoral process in 2009 than it was in 2004 when injunctions were relatively easy to obtain and were used to stop processes even in the early stages of the electoral cycle.</p> <p>Furthermore, verdicts on election results almost invariably were in favour of MEC which made it an unattractive prospect for any disputant.</p> <p>The reasons underpinning DPP's resounding victory</p> <p>The Mutharika regime started auspiciously with its zero tolerance to corruption slogan and hauled up a number of senior party officials on corruption charges. The performance of the DPP government from 2004 – 08 at the macro economic level; i.e. bringing in fiscal discipline, an area where the former UDF government was an abysmal failure, moderate success in the area of service delivery have been significant contributing factors leading to the groundbreaking success of DPP in the 2009 elections. The economy grew by 8.2% in 2006, 7.9% by 2007 and 9.7% by 2008; interest rates that reached 35% in 2003 were reduced to 15%; domestic debt that had accumulated to 25% of gross domestic product (GPD) at the beginning of 2004 was reduced to 11.5% of GDP by 2008. Malawi also completed six consecutive reviews of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) supported programmes and it benefited under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme and subsequently qualified for the Multilateral Debt Relief initiative under the IMF and World Bank and the African Development Bank.</p> <p>The Afrobarometer survey comparison of the Mutharika government's performance between 2005 and 2008 and that of Muluzi government's between 1999 and 2003 demonstrated that the Mutharika's government had outperformed the previous regime in public services such as, sanitation, water, food security, combating HIV AIDS, crime and corruption . In addition, the Afrobarometer studies revealed a startling new trend; i.e that one party was gaining broad acceptance across ethnic and regional lines and was emerging as popular in all the regions and thus predicted Mutharika</p>
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			<p>winning with 60% of national vote. The additional 6% was a protest vote against John Tembo and the ill conceived last minute electoral alliance between the UDF and MCP.</p> <p>The first term of the Mutharika government scored poorly on political governance and democracy. However, these deficiencies in democracy and political governance of the Mutharika government were soothed away successfully through defence of national development. The uncompromising opposition became an easy scapegoat for all shortcomings. The donors too, who were tough on Muluzi during his open/third term bid and other Constitutional violations were more lenient, at least publicly, on Mutharika’s blatant breaches of Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law.</p> <p>http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:5H3ABaHiDV8J:www.cmi.no/file/%3F1014+tembo+election+results+court+2009&cd=6&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&lr=lang_en%7Cclang_es&client=safari</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Malawi: Time to Realise that Elections can be Free but not Fair</p> <p>Malawi’s opposition leader, John Tembo, has demanded that the country’s President, Binguwa Mutharika clarify the statement he recently made in Lusaka, Zambia, that it was the Zambian President, Rupiah Banda, who helped him win Malawi’s 19th May 2009 general elections in which Mutharika won with 66.1 percent of the national vote against Tembo’s 30.6 percent.</p> <p>Despite Mutharika’s landslide victory, Tembo has always maintained that the victory was aided by Mutharika’s vote rigging; a claim, which Tembo says he has an evidence for. Tembo launched a court battle to state his claims only days after the election but his case was dismissed by the high court because Tembo filed the case outside the constitutional 48 hours, within which any legal case against election results must be submitted.</p> <p>Given that it is not the first time in Malawi’s 16 years of democracy that an opposition party has gone to court in protest against elections results, it is safe to say that it is unlikely that Tembo was going to win the case. However, it could have given Tembo an opportunity to exhibit the evidence he claims to have. This could have been important for the country. Now Tembo has to settle for the role of a bad loser – a role that has become emblematic of opposition leaders in Africa where ruling parties rarely if ever lose elections.</p> <p>I do not know the kind of evidence Tembo has, but he has a valid point: elections in Malawi are never fair. Malawi’s ever-present elections observers, including ARTICLE 19, European Union, Commonwealth, and EISA have all demonstrable evidence supporting this. For instance, in their reports for both the 2004 and 2009 elections they all agreed the election had been “free” but not</p>
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			<p>“fair” due to the ruling party’s abuse of public resources (especially the media) at the expense of the opposition parties.</p> <p>EISA’s 2009 elections observer team noticed “the unlevel playing field in terms of access to campaign finance and state media”. They made similar observation in 2004: “The elections in Malawi were substantially free. The mission notes however that the playing field was not levelled, which made it difficult for opposition parties and candidates to have equitable access to public resources including the state media.”</p> <p>Commonwealth Observer Group, 2009, which was led by the former Ghana President John Kufuor, concluded that “we are extremely concerned at the conduct of the state-owned media in its coverage of these elections,” and accused it of bias towards Mutharika. In 2004 the commonwealth said: “Our three major concerns throughout our time in Malawi have been the incompetence of the commission’s handling of the voter registration process, the overwhelming pro-ruling party bias in the state media over the months prior to the election and the unfair and blatant exploitation by the ruling coalition of the advantages of their incumbency.”</p> <p>This has been the case throughout Malawi’s short democratic history. It is not a coincidence that it is only a ruling party that always has resources to buy and distribute party materials; t-shirts, party cloth, bicycles, etc... United Democratic Front (UDF), the first post-colonial party to rule Malawi had all these resources whilst in power. Mutharika left the party shortly after his 2004 elections victory, he formed his DPP whilst still President and now it is his ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) that can afford to distribute party materials.</p> <p>In Malawi there is no difference between a state function and a political function. This means that a ruling party through its president and ministers use public resources to make political statements and score political points over opposition parties who are denied such opportunities.</p> <p>It also means that the ruling party campaigns throughout the five-year period while the opposition cannot do the same due to the lack of resources. The opposition are only allowed minimal air time on the state broadcaster when the electoral commission officially opens the campaign period – three months before elections. There is no fair election where the playing field is uneven – a level playing field is one of the most important prerequisites for fair elections. Whenever elections are free of violence, elections in Malawi are generally free, everyone is happy to call them “free and fair.” This is wrong. Elections can be free but not fair. This has been the case in Malawi. It is not until we recognise this difference that we can appreciate Tembo’s grievances. http://jimmykainja.co.uk/malawi-time-to-realise-that-elections-can-be-free-but-not-fair/</p>
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Mexico 2000-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Mexico 2000	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Right after the IFE's President (José Woldenberg) announced the result of the election, Mexico's President and leader of the PRI conceded defeat to Vicente Fox.	<i>Election date:</i> 6 de Julio de 2000 <i>Winner:</i> Vicente Fox Quesada – PAN-PVEM <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Francisco Labastida Ochoa, PRI
Mexico 2006	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1		<i>Election date:</i> El domingo 2 de julio de 2006 <i>Winner:</i> Felipe Calderon, PAN <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Andres Manuel López Obrador, PRD-PT-Convergencia
Mexico 2012	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1	Once again AMLO claimed fraud, organized several protests around the country, but much more moderated than those in 2006, organized and Expo-faud in which he showed the items that allegedly were used to buy votes. The coalition that supported his candidacy also presented a legal suit in the Federal Electoral Court.	<i>Election date:</i> 1 de julio de 2012 <i>Winner:</i> Enrique Peña Nieto, PRI-PVEM <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Andres Manuel López Obrador, PRD-PT-Movimiento Ciudadano El candidato perdedor López Obrador anuncia que impugnará la elección El líder del PRD se consolida tras la elección en una izquierda fortalecida SALVADOR CAMARENA México 3 JUL 2012 - 02:38 CET AMLO se ha colocado en la ruta de la confrontación. La tarde del lunes, con más de quince millones de votos en las alforjas, pero lejos, a siete puntos porcentuales del ganador Enrique Peña Nieto, el candidato del Movimiento Progresista ha anunciado que impugnará la elección presidencial. "Sí, sí la vamos a impugnar", dijo a la prensa cuando se le preguntó si reclamaría los resultados si la autoridad electoral confirma el próximo miércoles los datos que lo sitúan a tres millones y medio del candidato ganador. Acompañado de los presidentes de los tres partidos de izquierda que le hicieron su candidato, López Obrador dijo que la elección "a todas luces fue inequitativa y plagada de irregularidades". El

			<p>candidato de la izquierda denunció que hubo compra de votos en una operación que según él llevaron a cabo los gobernadores priistas y que habría implicado un gasto multimillonario. “Vamos a pedir transparencia total, limpieza de todo el proceso. Vamos a pedir la revisión de actas y, en algunos casos, el conteo de boletas”.</p> <p>La postura asumida este lunes por el candidato de la izquierda ha caído como un jarro de agua fría en un país en el que muchos sectores se felicitaban por la baja cantidad de irregularidades y de incidentes en la elección del 1 de julio. Se asoma pues la posibilidad de un conflicto poselectoral, como el que en 2006 polarizó a la sociedad entera.</p> <p>Paradójicamente, el ex jefe de gobierno del Distrito Federal ha sido el artífice para que la elección del domingo se salde con el Gobierno de dos Estados más y muchos puestos en la Cámara de Diputados para el Movimiento Progresista.</p> <p>“Todavía no está dicha la última palabra. Vamos a actuar como siempre, de manera responsable”, dijo la medianoche del 1 de julio López Obrador al no reconocer el triunfo del PRI. El anuncio se dio después de reunirse durante horas con los notables de la izquierda, entre los que estaban el tres veces candidato presidencial Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, el presidente del Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), Jesús Zambrano, el líder informal de la izquierda Manuel Camacho Solís y el alcalde de la capital, Marcelo Ebrard.</p> <p>El conflicto poselectoral de 2006 costó buena parte del capital político a López Obrador, quien alegó que hubo fraude después de quedar a 0,56% de votos del panista Felipe Calderón. Aunque ayer estaban presentes en la rueda de prensa donde López Obrador endureció su discurso para que se limpie la elección, los partidos de la izquierda deberán decidir la ruta a seguir, sobre todo después de que la tercera parte de los electores les haya depositado su confianza.</p> <p>El problema es que cuando muchas veces se dijo que López Obrador era el candidato de “las izquierdas”, la frase encerraba una mal disimulada realidad de divisiones y añejas traiciones entre los personajes de las tres fuerzas que respaldaron la aventura electoral del tabasqueño: el PRD, el partido del Trabajo y el Movimiento Ciudadano. En uno de los primeros mítines de López Obrador de esta campaña, por ejemplo, el líder perredista Zambrano fue abucheado de manera grosera por los simpatizantes del candidato sin que este se inmutara.</p> <p>Camacho Solís, uno de los personajes que tienen capacidad de diálogo y negociación con las distintas fuerzas de la izquierda, resaltaba el lunes que este “debe de ser un momento de refundación de la izquierda, la tercera parte del país está de acuerdo con un proyecto progresista”.</p>
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			<p>En declaraciones a EL PAÍS, Camacho Solís dijo por la mañana del lunes que las izquierdas han aprendido la lección. “En 4 ó 5 meses hemos podido hacer lo que no fuimos capaces en 4 ó 5 años. El liderazgo de AMLO ha salido fortalecido. Y también el PRD se ha beneficiado del excelente desempeño del candidato. La verdad es que nos necesitamos todos pero con nuevas reglas. Ganamos Tabasco, Morelos y, de manera contundente, el Distrito Federal. Representaremos la oposición a Peña Nieto en la Cámara de Diputados. Es el gran momento de la izquierda”.</p> <p>Falta que el partido de la Revolución Democrática coincida con lo expresado por Camacho Solís. Algunos líderes del PRD creían hace un par de semanas que la elección marcaría la fecha en que el candidato, quien en los últimos años formó una estructura paralela denominada Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (Morena), y el partido tomaran caminos separados. Pero a veces, como el domingo, un buen resultado complica los planes.</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2012/07/02/mexico/1341252004_925370.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>AMLO rechaza que impugnar la elección desestabilice al país @ADNPolitico Julio 29, 2012 17 Comentarios Andrés Manuel López Obrador afirmó que impugnar la elección presidencial no busca desestabilizar al país, sino que el objetivo es hacer valer la Constitución. “Se molestaron mucho. Empezaron a decir que queríamos desestabilizar al país. No, porque desestabilizar al país es permitir la podredumbre, la inmundicia y la corrupción”, indicó al encabezar una asamblea informativa en Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl, Estado de México.</p> <p>El pasado jueves, la dirigencia nacional del PRI acusó a López Obrador de buscar la "ruptura institucional" y mostrar "delirios mesiánicos" y "vocación autoritaria". Este domingo, el candidato presidencial de la izquierda minimizó lo que calificó como "ataques".</p> <p>"No se preocupen por los ataques, estamos acostumbrados a ellos, llevamos muchos años luchando... Tenemos la razón, nosotros sabemos que la razón siempre triunfa, es como la justicia, a veces tarda pero siempre llega", dijo y recordó que ha sido descalificado como "mesiánico", "loco" y que tiene "delirio".</p>
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			<p>Este domingo, el aspirante comentó que se enfrenta a un “grupo de intereses creados muy poderoso”, el cual –señaló– se niega a cambiar el actual “régimen de corrupción, de injusticias, de privilegios”. El perredista reiteró que sus acciones seguirán siendo pacíficas.</p> <p>“Siempre vamos a actuar de manera pacífica, sin violencia. Tenemos la razón y, por eso, no vamos a hacer nada que provoque violencia. Es un movimiento que ha sido, es y será pacífico. Tenemos la razón. Y sólo recurren a la fuerza aquellos que no tienen la razón”, señaló.</p> <p>El abanderado de la coalición PRD-PT-Movimiento Ciudadano insistió en su alegato de que la elección debe ser invalidada porque –afirma– no fue limpia ni libre y hubo compra de votos.</p> <p>AMLO refrendó su denuncia de que el candidato presidencial del PRI-PVEM, Enrique Peña Nieto, rebasó el tope de gastos de campaña con recursos de procedencia ilícita, producto de lavado de dinero.</p> <p>“Tenemos pruebas para asegurar que Peña Nieto compró alrededor de cinco millones de votos; sólo en el estado de México compró un millón de votos con dinero en efectivo, con tarjetas Soriana, con entrega de despensas, de materiales de construcción y otras dádivas”, detalló durante la asamblea.</p> <p>El perredista informó que los dirigentes de los partidos que lo apoyan ya se reunieron con los magistrados del Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación (TEPJF), quienes analizarán el juicio de inconformidad que interpuso su coalición de izquierda Movimiento Progresista.</p> <p>“Van bien las cosas, tengo confianza”, manifestó. López Obrador advirtió que seguirán presentando pruebas.</p> <p>“Falta todavía un mes, lo acabo de decir ahora, el plazo es el 6 de septiembre, tenemos todavía todo el mes de agosto, además ya son muchas las pruebas que hemos entregado, pero se van a seguir entregando más pruebas”, abundó.</p> <p>... Y PREPARA "EXPO-FRAUDE"</p> <p>El Movimiento Progresista y el Movimiento regeneración nacional (Morena) realizaron este domingo 142 asambleas informativas en distintas plazas públicas del país, con la finalidad de recabar pruebas y testimonios de irregularidades en la elección presidencial del 1 de julio.</p>
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			<p>Los integrantes de las mesas recibieron objetos que puedan considerarse como prueba de que hubo compra del voto por parte del PRI. Entre los objetos más comunes hay tarjetas de Soriana, tarjetas telefónicas con la imagen de Peña Nieto, materiales de construcción, fotos de refrigeradores y estufas presuntamente entregadas por el PRI, señaló Antonio Jiménez, coordinador regional de Morena.</p> <p>Lo recabado por integrantes de Morena será exhibido en el Zócalo de la Ciudad de México el 12 de agosto, en una exposición sobre la forma "en que se compró el voto", informó Antonio Jiménez.</p> <p>Estas acciones forman parte del Plan Nacional de Defensa de la Democracia y de la Dignidad de México, estrategia presentada por el candidato de la izquierda el 20 de julio, que incluye la realización de asambleas informativas y convocar a la ciudadanía a participar en actividades culturales, entre las que están la creación de ensayos y un documental sobre las irregularidades en la elección.</p> <p>Entre las ciudades en las que se llevarán a cabo asambleas este domingo están Ensenada, Tijuana, San Cristobal de las Casas, Torreón, Acapulco, Tula, Puerto Vallarta, Cuernavaca, Cancún, entre otras, de acuerdo con un calendario de actividades dado a conocer por el portal amlo.si.</p> <p>López Obrador obtuvo en la elección presidencial 31.59% de los votos, más de seis puntos porcentuales por debajo de Peña Nieto quien ganó 38.21% de los sufragios, según cifras del cómputo del IFE.</p> <p>http://www.adnpolitico.com/2012/2012/07/29/amlo-rechaza-que-impugnar-la-eleccion-desestabilice-al-pais</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>TEPJF rechaza la impugnación de López Obrador a la elección Por Tania L. Montalvo @TanLMont Agosto 30, 2012 37 Comentarios CNNMéxico. El Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación (TEPJF) rechazó el juicio de inconformidad que presentó la izquierda en contra de la elección presidencial. Por unanimidad, los magistrados electorales desecharon las pruebas entregadas por el Movimiento Progresista para invalidar los comicios del 1 de julio, al avalar el dictamen elaborado por la comisión del Tribunal que analizó la impugnación de la coalición que postuló a Andrés Manuel López Obrador, la cual acusaba violaciones a la Constitución.</p>
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			<p>"Se presentaron miles de pruebas y pruebas con posterioridad, que estudiamos a plenitud (...) Verificamos si se habían comprado cinco millones de votos, vimos que no se acreditaban esas pruebas", dijo el magistrado Salvador Nava Gomar, integrante de la comisión especial en la que también estuvieron Constancio Carrasco y Flavio Galván.</p> <p>Según Nava Gomar, la comisión estudió todas las pruebas presentadas por la izquierda y cada uno de los agravios, aún cuando algunos de estos eran inoperantes por "vagos, generales o imprecisos".</p> <p>Como redactor del proyecto que se votará para resolver el juicio de invalidez, el magistrado dijo que "México tuvo una elección que no debe invalidarse, se confirman los principios constitucionales, tuvimos elecciones libres. México tiene autoridades electorales robustas y confiables. Si ustedes tienen a bien aprobar este proyecto, México tiene un presidente, el licenciado Enrique Peña Nieto", concluyó.</p> <p>En el proyecto, que todavía discute el Tribunal Electoral, se declaran infundados los agravios demandados por el Movimiento Progresista: adquisición encubierta en tiempo en radio y televisión y medios impresos, excesivo gasto de campaña, financiamiento encubierto, uso de encuestas como medio de propaganda, actos de coacción y presión a los electores, intervención del gobierno federal y local e irregularidades ocurridas durante los cómputos.</p> <p>Sobre el financiamiento encubierto, los magistrados determinaron que en el caso de las tarjetas de prepago Monex, "no se observa que las tarjetas se hayan dado a ciudadanos en general", pero sobre todo, "no se demuestra el activismo ilegal con recursos supuestamente financiados" por la coalición Compromiso por México, PRI-PVEM.</p> <p>En el caso de las tarjetas Soriana, que según el Movimiento Progresista, implicó coacción y presión a los electores, aportaciones indebidas de recursos e intervención de gobiernos locales, el proyecto de los magistrados concluye que "no se acreditan las mencionadas irregularidades con las pruebas entregadas".</p> <p>"Sólo se encuentra evidenciado que las tarjetas tienen como base un acuerdo que beneficia a militantes del PRI pero no a la ciudadanía en general".</p> <p>Otro de los agravios, intervención de los gobiernos federal y locales, el proyecto indica que la queja de la izquierda no es suficiente para determinar que el presidente Felipe Calderón, por la emisión de un mensaje en Twitter durante el segundo debate presidencial, intervino en el proceso electoral federal, pues no realizó mención expresa a partido, candidato o a una plataforma política.</p>
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			<p>Asimismo, si bien se confirma la denuncia de López Obrador de que hubo una reunión en Toluca, Estado de México, entre gobernadores priistas, "no hay indicios que indiquen el propósito de esa reunión", que según el perredista, se realizó para emprender un plan de apoyo a Peña Nieto que incluyó el uso de recursos públicos para su campaña presidencial.</p> <p>En el caso de los gobiernos de Durango, Zacatecas y Chihuahua, que se acusó desvío de recursos estatales a favor de Peña Nieto, los magistrados que elaboraron el proyecto concluyeron que "la acusación no está demostrada".</p> <p>En cuanto al desequilibrio informativo, los magistrados de la comisión especial determinaron que con las pruebas aportadas no se comprueban los hechos y que la "cobertura tendenciosa" que se acusa, se "trata de líneas editoriales y noticiosas que no son reprochables".</p> <p>Sobre el uso de las encuestas, el proyecto concluye que esos estudios "no son adecuados ni suficientes para aducir al comportamiento final del electorado".</p> <p>Además, determina que tampoco se presentaron suficientes pruebas para comprobar que los medios de comunicación que difundieron esas encuestas lo hicieron con la finalidad de manipular al electorado a favor del candidato priista, Enrique Peña Nieto.</p> <p>La sesión en la Sala Superior del Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación (TEPJF) comenzó después de que todos los magistrados estudiaron el proyecto y declararon el miércoles que estaba listo para recibir sentencia.</p> <p>El 12 de julio pasado, la coalición Movimiento Progresista que tuvo a Andrés Manuel López Obrador como candidato presidencial, presentó el juicio de inconformidad argumentando que se violó el artículo 41 Constitucional, que exige que los comicios en México sean libres y auténticos.</p> <p>Tras la sentencia de este jueves, el Tribunal tendrá pendiente otra sesión para validar los comicios y publicar el cómputo final de la elección presidencial. Según los resultados entregados en julio por el Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE), la diferencia entre López Obrador y el priista Enrique Peña Nieto es de poco más de seis puntos porcentuales, con el 38.21% de los votos, equivalentes a 19 millones 226,784 sufragios para el priista y el 31.59% para el perredista.</p> <p>También quedará pendiente la emisión de la constancia de presidente electo, que deberá realizarse antes del 6 de septiembre.</p>
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<http://www.adnpolitico.com/2012/2012/08/30/tepijf-analiza-rechazar-la-impugnacion-de-amlo-a-la-eleccion>

Nicaragua 1984-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Nicaragua 1984	1=0 2=0 3=0	<p>On November of 1984, the first election since the civil war started was held.</p> <p>Apparently, the Reagan administration was deeply involved in the race and tried to delegitimize the electoral process by encouraging the opposition parties to pull out of the race. Nevertheless, international observers and some members of the international press recognized the process as free and fair.</p> <p>The runner up candidate, Clemente Guido, only obtained 13.5% of the votes. He did not make any statements about the results. The rest of the opposition parties had stated, before the election, that the Sandinistas could not guaranteed that the process would be free and fair.</p>	<p>Election date: 04/11/1984 Winner: Daniel Ortega Runner-up candidate: Clemente Guido Chavez</p> <p>“During the Reagan administration, however, the U.S. State Department engaged in rewriting the early years of the Nicaraguan Revolution, deliberately distorting and quoting out of context sections of a September 1979 Sandinista document which they called "The Seventy-Two Hour Document," a "communist blueprint." The U.S. objective was to prove that the Sandinista proposition of maintaining a cross-class alliance (political pluralism and a mixed economy) was always a smoke screen for their real intention, which was the creation of a one-party communist state. In fact, the original Sandinista document was a call for restraint and flexibility in dealing with the opposition and for maintaining the cross-class alliance in the face of radicalizing pressure</p> <p>But what about the Coordinadora Democratica Ramiro Sacasa (CD), the coalition supporting Arturo Cruz's candidacy? According to the Reagan administration and advocates of its Nicaragua policy, this was the only real opposition party, and the election was not genuinely contested because the CD did not participate. The decision to withdraw from the election, however, was made by the CD and its U.S. backers, not by the Sandinistas. Even though the CD used its participation in the early stages of the election to legitimate the political line of the contras, the FSLN made significant concessions to assure the continued participation of the CD. It was the CD that pulled out, because of its own political weakness and because, according to senior U.S. officials, "the [Reagan] administration never contemplated letting Cruz stay in the race, because then the Sandinistas could justifiably claim that the elections were legitimate"</p>

			<p>The lack of good faith on the part of the CD was emphasized by the fact that it withdrew just when the rules of the election had been liberalized to its benefit. More recently, Cruz (who was receiving a monthly salary of \$6,000 from the CIA during a twenty-six-month period) has acknowledged that the CD "was dominated by people who never intended to go through with an election campaign," but sought instead "to embarrass the Sandinistas by withdrawing" (New York Times, January 8, 1988). Finally, as has been pointed out by analyst John Booth (1986: 58), even if the CD had participated and had received all of the abstention votes plus 20 percent of the FSLN votes, the FSLN would still have won the election. More generally, the openness and fairness of the Nicaraguan election were recognized with a striking degree of unanimity by the participating opposition parties (Reding, 1984) and by foreign observers not directly linked to the Reagan administration. Americas Watch (1985) called it "a model of probity and fairness." Based on surveys of the European and international press and interviews, observers from the Socialist International (which is not consistently or uniformly pro-Sandinista) were supportive of the election and critical of the opposition parties that pulled out"</p> <p>Source: Susanne Jonas y Nancy Stein. <i>The construction of democracy in Nicaragua</i>. Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 17, No. 3, The Sandinista Legacy: The Construction of Democracy (Summer, 1990), pp. 10-37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633810</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Conservatives committed to contest Nicaraguan election / Democratic Conservative Party The Guardian. October, 30, 1984.. "The Democratic Conservative Party, one of the main opposition parties, will take part in Sunday's elections, its leader Dr Clemente Guido, announced after a stormy eight-hour meeting of its national representatives. The decision means that, despite fierce national and international efforts first to postpone and then to boycott the elections, Nicaraguans will have a choice on Sunday of three parties to the left and three to the right of the Sandinistas. The chaotic meeting of the Conservatives ended on Sunday night without a vote being taken when angry heckling by members of the party's youth wing, who wanted to take part in the elections, made it impossible to go on. Afterwards, most of the 'abstentionists' and representatives of the other side claimed they would have won if a vote had been taken. Dr Guido, the party's presidential candidate, said that the party would take part. As he put it at a rally of several hundred peasants, about 30 miles from Managua,</p>
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			<p>the choice was 'whether to abandon the people, or lead them to the polls to defeat the Sandinista dictatorship through the ballot box.'</p> <p>In an interview last week, Dr Guido charged the US embassy with sending an official to visit one of the party's leaders recently with offers of thousands of dollars for the party if it abstained. Similar charges of the American pressure on the position have been made by the Sandinistas. But Dr Guido's accusations were the first from a respected opposition figure.”</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18853864280&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18853864284&cisb=22_T18853864283&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=138620&docNo=8</p> <p>“La última cuestión importante por tratar es el argumento de que el FSLN forzara a la "oposición real" a salir de la campaña electoral, de modo que para todos los propósitos prácticos no presentara resistencia considerable. Este argumento se basa en que un frente de oposición nunca convino en participar, y que en los últimos días antes de la votación dos partidos participantes se dividieron por una polémica interna acerca de si debían participar o no en las elecciones. Los críticos de los Sandinistas concluyen que la no participación de estos grupos reflejo de una falta de garantías mínimas para elecciones justas. El hecho es que Arturo Cruz y la Coordinadora Democrática decidieron por su propia voluntad no participar; que Virgilio Godoy, del Partido Liberal Independiente, se retiró una semana antes de las elecciones, pero su compañero de campaña, candidato a la vicepresidencia, continua; y que se mantuvo en la contienda Clemente Guido, candidato presidencial del Partido Demócrata Conservador, aunque es posible que una mayoría de los delegados en un congreso de este partido (...) abstenerse, el grupo de Cruz logró despertar dudas sobre la legitimidad de las elecciones, particularmente entre los cristianos-demócratas y los social demócratas europeos. Parece que la Coordinadora libró en gran parte su campaña fuera de Nicaragua y ganó la batalla de la propaganda internacional a los Sandinistas. Al hacerlo, se aseguró en Nicaragua una fuerza política más allá de la que habría podido esperar en las urnas. Según fuentes informadas, el éxito de la táctica abstencionista de la Coordinadora Democrática influyó en gran parte al candidato presidencial de los liberales-independientes, Godoy, para retirarse de los comicios dos semanas antes de que se efectuaran.⁴⁸ La acción de Godoy dio a su partido una participación en la nueva asamblea constituyente y el beneficio político del abstencionismo.”</p> <p>Source: John Weeks. <i>Las elecciones nicaragüenses de 1984</i>. Foro Internacional. Vol 26 (1). http://www.jstor.org/stable/27738022</p> <p>-0-</p>
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			<p>SE CONSUMO LA FARSA ELECTORAL EN NICARAGUA MADRID, LUNES 5 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1984 Ayer se consumó en Nicaragua la farsa electoral preparada por la dictadura sandinista. Los nicaragüenses fueron convocados a las urnas en unos comicios que todos los observadores han denunciado como carentes de credibilidad. La falta de libertad para que, como en cualquier democracia, candidatos, partidos y ciudadanos expresaran sus programas y aspiraciones, anula el intento sandinista de ofrecer al mundo el espectáculo de unos elecciones libres. Antes de conocer los resultados que facilite el Gobierno de Managua, los observadores dan por segura la orrolladora victoria del dictador Daniel Ortega. (Información en páginas interiores) http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1984/11/05/001.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>34 A B G IBEROAMÉRICA -Tras las elecciones en Nicaragua- MARTES 6- 11- 84 La victoria del Frente Sandinista consolida a los hombres de Castro Los oficiales formados en Cuba apoyan al nuevo presidente Managua. Miguel Martín, enviado especial Como estaba previsto de antemano, los primeros resultados del simulacro electoral de Nicaragua, aunque poco indicativos, confirman las previsiones de un triunfo del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) con alrededor del 70 por 100 de los votos. Según fuentes gubernamentales ha participado el 82 por 100 de los electores censados. Con todo esto, ¿qué resolvió ayer el sandinismo? En el orden interno, nada. Absolutamente nada. Deben ser conscientes, a juzgar por el nerviosismo que trascienden. El presidente electo, Daniel Ortega, se perfila claramente como un Fidel Castro centroamericano. El y su hermano acumulan poder de manera progresiva. Y de manera que ya preocupa a algún http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1984/11/06/034.html</p>
<p>Nicaragua 1990</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The Nicaraguan electoral process of 1990 exceeded the expectations of the international community. The ruling revolutionary party was defeated; Daniel Ortega (retiring president who was pursuing reelection) conceded defeat and congratulated Violeta Barros.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 25/02/1990 <i>Winner:</i> Violeta Barrios de Chamorro - National Opposition Union (UNO) = National Conservative Party (PNC) / Popular Conservative Alliance (APC) / National Conservative Action (ACN) / Democratic Party of National Confidence (PDCN) / Independent Liberal Party (PLI) / Neoliberal Party (PALI) / Constitutionalist Liberal Party (PLC) / National Action Party (PAN) / Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) / Communist Party of Nicaragua (PC de N) / Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC) / Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) / Social Democratic Party (PSD) / Central American Integrationist Party (PIAC)</p>

		<p>Nevertheless, Ortega stated he would not relinquish the control of the army if that represented any risk for the revolutionary policies his government had implemented.</p>	<p><i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Daniel Ortega - Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)</p> <p>Nicaraguans braced for the changeover Miércoles 28 de febrero de 1990. The independent.</p> <p>“UNSEASONAL black clouds hung over the Nicaraguan capital yesterday as the president-elect, Violeta Chamorro, began negotiations for a smooth transition to power in two months' time. While some observers make dark predictions about the Sandinistas' intentions, many are surprisingly optimistic about the prospects for the first peaceful handover of power in Nicaraguan history on 25 April.</p> <p>Nicaragua's Supreme Electoral Council yesterday confirmed that Mrs Chamorro won Sunday's election. One of the first to visit Mrs Chamorro with a message of congratulation was the defeated President, Daniel Ortega, who, as he left the meeting, told an assembled crowd that he had come to discuss "peace and reconciliation".</p> <p>He was accompanied by Jimmy Carter, the former US president, and Miguel D'Escoto, the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister. Mr D'Escoto said afterwards: "Things are going in an exemplary fashion. The President has come to congratulate Violeta Chamorro for her victory at the polls and also to offer co-operation in every way for a smooth transition." Both sides have called on United Nations observers to remain in the country until Mrs Chamorro takes power.</p> <p>Inside Mrs Chamorro's house, her victory was celebrated in a small family gathering, which included her son Carlos Fernando, a political adversary who is editor of the Sandinista newspaper Barricada, and another son, Pedro Joaquin, a former political director of the Contra army.</p> <p>"It was incredible," said one diplomat present. "They were very responsible and serious. There was absolutely no gloating. The Uno National Opposition Union people are very impressed by Ortega. They feel he has proven himself to be a real statesman." Among the messages of congratulation Mrs Chamorro received a letter from Margaret Thatcher, which was followed up by a brief telephone call.</p> <p>In a letter to Mr Ortega, the head of the United Nations observer team, Elliot Richardson, referred to the President's speech on Monday in which he acknowledged defeat. Mr Richardson said: "I heard your moving message directed to the Nicaraguan people in which you reaffirmed your commitment to the democratic process, and I feel obliged to render tribute to its dignity, integrity and moderation."</p> <p>Speaking on behalf of all the observers he went on, "The electoral process in Nicaragua has exceeded all our expectation."</p> <p>The British government's official observer, David Browning, said: "The Sandinista government deserves credit for supporting an administrative design for elections which were free and fair. The</p>
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			<p>design of the electoral administration here incorporated features which could be applied with benefit to other countries in Latin America." http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18532922082&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=42_6&resultsUrlKey=29_T18532922086&cisb=22_T18532922085&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8200&docNo=438</p>
Nicaragua 1996	1=1 2=1 3=1	<p>The electoral process of 1996 was considered free and fair by international observers, despite the denounced irregularities. Daniel Ortega, the candidate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front refused to recognize his defeat. Nicaragua lived five months of political instability characterized by protests and confrontation. The Sandinistas presented a legal challenge to the election results. Finally, Ortega agreed to negotiate with the new government.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 20/10/1996 <i>Winner:</i> Arnaldo Alemán - Liberal Alliance (AL) = Constitutionalist Liberal Party (PLC) / Independent Liberal Party for National Unity (PLIUN) / Nationalist Liberal Party (PLN) / Neoliberal Party (PALI) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Daniel Ortega - Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)</p> <p>News in brief: Ortega questions elections figures. 23 de octubre de 1996. The Guardian</p> <p>Nicaragua's Sandinista leader, Daniel Ortega, yesterday rejected partial election results which show his rightwing rival, Arnaldo Aleman of the Liberal Alliance Party, has won the presidency. Claiming irregularities and discrepancies between official figures and the Sandinista National Liberation Front's count, Mr Ortega said the former Managua mayor's victory declaration was premature.</p> <p>"At this time we cannot recognise the results, since we found a series of anomalies, especially referring to the information that arrived at (the computation centre) by telegram," he said. With 54 per cent of the vote counted, Mr Aleman seemed to be heading for victory with 48.5 per cent, a lead of nearly 10 percentage points over Mr Ortega. Mr Aleman declared victory on Monday, promising "to form a national government so we can all make the change (for the good of Nicaragua)". A candidate needs 45 per cent of the vote to win outright. - AP, Managua</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18534962084&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=251&resultsUrlKey=29_T18534962088&cisb=22_T18534962087&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=138620&docNo=251</p> <p>Alemán y Ortega buscan una salida a la “guerra” institucional en Nicaragua 15 de enero de 1997. El país.</p>

			<p>“Un rígido apretón de manos entre el presidente de Nicaragua, Arnoldo Alemán, y el líder del Frente Sandinista, Daniel Ortega, inauguró el lunes una etapa de diálogo para solucionar la crisis política desatada por la negativa de la antigua guerrilla a reconocer los resultados de las elecciones generales del pasado 20 de octubre, que la sitúan como la segunda fuerza política del país. Después de casi tres meses de denuncias, amenazas y descalificaciones, que culminaron con la ausencia de los sandinistas de la toma de posesión del nuevo mandatario, el pasado viernes, Ortega decidió cambiar de estrategia y aceptó la oferta de Alemán para reunirse "sin agenda ni condiciones". El encuentro se celebró el lunes y duró una hora. No hubo pactos, pero sí, dijo, "una aproximación de voluntades políticas sobre temas sensibles" (...)"</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1996/10/21/internacional/845848806_850215.html</p> <p>Ortega amenaza con las armas ante una jornada de protesta en Nicaragua 14 de abril de 1997</p> <p>“En vísperas del desafío en la calle del sandinismo al flamante Gobierno conservador de Arnoldo Alemán, la tensión aumenta en Nicaragua. El ex presidente Daniel Ortega ha dejado clara la magnitud de la apuesta. "Si Alemán sigue con su programa dictatorial, volveremos a las armas", aseguró el líder del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN), que recientemente perdió por segunda vez consecutiva las elecciones frente a los conservadores. El país está en alerta ante la jornada de protesta convocada por los sandinistas para hoy. "El lunes empieza la, lucha", declaró Ortega. "Con la lucha que empieza pretendemos evitar que el país vuelva a la guerra", comenzó Ortega, "porque si el Gobierno sigue avanzando en su programa dictatorial no nos quedaría otra alternativa que volver a coger las armas". "Ni al Gobierno ni a Nicaragua le conviene que Arnoldo Alemán caiga a balazos". Ortega ha vuelto a su discurso más duro (...)"</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1997/04/14/internacional/860968814_850215.html</p> <p>Alemán pide a Ortega que no entorpezca la transición política en Nicaragua 23 de octubre de 1996</p> <p>“Arnoldo Alemán se estrenó como virtual presidente de Nicaragua con una petición a su máximo contrincante, el sandinista Daniel Ortega: que le ayude y no obstaculice el proceso de transición del país. El llamamiento del dirigente conservador, a quien el escrutinio provisional otorga un 48,5% de los votos en las elecciones del pasado domingo, se produjo después de que Ortega decidiera desconocer los resultados debido a las irregularidades del proceso. La distancia entre ambos candidatos prácticamente no ha variado en el lento recuento: casi 10 puntos abajo para Daniel Ortega, que sigue con un 38,9% de los votos .El candidato del Frente</p>
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			<p>Sandinista afirmó al anochecer del lunes que su partido no podía reconocer los resultados oficiales proporcionados por el Consejo Supremo Electoral debido a que, según sus propios cálculos, las irregularidades en la transmisión de datos han hecho perder a su partido 60.000 votos. El ex presidente nicaragüense llegó incluso a afirmar que impugnaría las elecciones. Según fuentes próximas al Frente, la estrategia está diseñada para arañar el mayor número de votos posible a Alemán, situar su umbral por debajo del 45% de los sufragios y forzar así una segunda vuelta.(...)" http://elpais.com/diario/1996/10/23/internacional/846021608_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>SANDINISTAS IMPUGNAN ELECCIONES NICARAGENSES El Frente Sandinista anunció presentó ayer un recurso de revisión nacional contra el resultado final provisional de las elecciones del 20 de octubre pasado, a pocas horas de que expirara el plazo para impugnar las elecciones.</p> <p>Según el informe final provisional que divulgó el Consejo Supremo Electoral (CSE) el pasado viernes, Arnoldo Alemán, se alzó con el triunfo al obtener el 51,02 por ciento de los votos frente al 37,7 que obtuvo el sandinista Daniel Ortega Los sandinistas solicitaron nuevas elecciones en los departamentos de Matagalpa y Managua, por considerar que las graves anomalías descubiertas en el recuento de votos no permiten determinar con claridad la voluntad de los nicaragenses expresada en las urnas en esas dos circunscripciones.</p> <p>Publicación eltiempo.com Sección Otros Fecha de publicación 12 de noviembre de 1996 Autor ManaguaEfe http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-587567</p>
<p>Nicaragua 2001</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>The presidential election of 2011 was the third failed attempt of Daniel Ortega to recover power. This time the leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front recognized his defeat</p>	<p>Election date: 4/11/2001 Winner: Enrique Bolaños Runner-up candidate: Daniel Ortega</p>

		<p>and congratulated his competitor on election day.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El conservador Bolaños derrota al Sandinista Ortega por amplia mayoría Martes 6 de noviembre de 2001. El país. La tercera derrota consecutiva del líder sandinista, Daniel Ortega, esta vez en las presidenciales del domingo por casi 10 puntos, introdujo el desaliento, y la rabia, en las filas del movimiento que hace 22 años expulsó de Nicaragua al tirano Somoza. "Salgamos a la calle, nos han robado el triunfo", instaba la desesperación. Ortega aceptó la derrota, vencido por los padecimientos asociados a su Gobierno de 1979 a 1990. Ganó Enrique Bolaños, a quien aguarda un Congreso previsiblemente a las órdenes del presidente saliente, Arnoldo Alemán, y al propio Ortega. La masiva participación, en torno al 90%, desbarató los sondeos previos a la jornada electoral, que anticipaban un empate técnico, y aupó por un margen superior al previsto al empresario cafetalero de 73 años. Bolaños fue vicepresidente durante cuatro años con Aleman y fundamentó su campaña en el recordatorio de los desmanes y penurias causados por los años del Gobierno revolucionario de los comandantes sandinistas que presidía Ortega. Escrutado el 13,3% de los votos, la tendencia parecía irreversible. El Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC) de Bolaños sumaba el 53,73% de los sufragios. El Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) lograba el 44,65%, y el Partido Conservador, un mínimo 1,62%. Tranquilas las calles de la capital y principales ciudades de Nicaragua, las sedes sandinistas eran ayer velorios mortificados por partida doble: por la victoria del "candidato de los ricos" y por los festivos petardos y tracas de los liberales. "Me tienen desesperadita esos sinvergüenzas de mis vecinos", protestaba una señora. Radio Sandino recibía llamadas convocando a la lucha. "¿Qué hacía el embajador americano [EEUU] en la sala de cómputos electorales?", se preguntaba uno. "Hay muchas sospechas, hermano. Quieren seguir robando, mientras el pueblo muere de hambre. Hay que defender nuestra victoria". Daniel Ortega no defendió lo imposible y compareció ante la prensa para admitir los resultados y subrayar que ayudará a la gobernabilidad de un país con el 70% de sus habitantes en la pobreza y aquejado por una deuda externa de 6.500 millones de dólares (1,2 billones de pesetas), 10 veces el valor de las exportaciones totales. "Vamos a colaborar en la gobernabilidad desde una postura de oposición, responsabilidad que sabremos construir de manera constructiva", declaró. "Vamos a apoyar a la democracia, que debe ir de la mano del fortalecimiento de las instituciones, de la lucha contra la pobreza, del imperio de la ley, del combate contra la corrupción, el narcotráfico y el terrorismo", dijo Ortega, a quien felicitó el propio Bolaños por su "comportamiento cívico". http://elpais.com/diario/2001/11/06/internacional/1005001216_850215.html</p> <p>Conservative claim victory in Nicaragua 7 de noviembre de 2001. The Australian.</p>
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			<p>“Conservative businessman Enrique Bolanos has claimed victory in Nicaragua's hotly contested presidential race, defeating leftist former president Daniel Ortega's third bid to regain power. "As of now I give up the red flag (of the Constitutional Liberal Party) and pick up the blue and white one of Nicaragua because now I am the President of all Nicaraguans," Mr Bolanos told supporters in Managua early yesterday. He praised Mr Ortega for conceding peacefully.</p> <p>"Nicaragua is the winner in this episode," said Mr Bolanos, 73, who was twice jailed by Mr Ortega for criticising the Sandinista leadership. Earlier, Mr Ortega, 55, a former revolutionary openly opposed by the US, blamed Washington in his concession speech for "a campaign of fear". "Democracy in Nicaragua still is an atypical democracy, because there has been very strong interference by internal and external forces which should be neutral, but used a campaign of fear and confrontation," Mr Ortega said. He pledged to support efforts to combat poverty and work for the good of the country, one of the poorest in the Americas. Mr Ortega visited Mr Bolanos's campaign headquarters to congratulate his opponent as fireworks blazed in the skies amid a cacophony of car horns. Early returns gave Mr Bolanos a nine-point lead, with slightly more than 13 per cent of the vote counted, over Mr Ortega of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Final results are not expected until early today. (...)”</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18536087180&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=176&resultsUrlKey=29_T18536087184&cisb=22_T18536087183&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=244777&docNo=184</p>
<p>Nicaragua 2006</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>Finally, the presidential election of 2006 gave back the presidency to Daniel Ortega. Despite the fact he only got 38% of the votes, the electoral law conceded to him victory in the first round and his main competitor recognized his defeat. Montealegre called Ortega to congratulate him.</p>	<p>Election date: 05/11/2006 Winner: Daniel Ortega Runner-up candidate: Eduardo Montealegre</p> <p>Ortega se alza con la presidencia de Nicaragua en la primera vuelta 8 de noviembre de 2006. El país. “El líder sandinista Daniel Ortega fue proclamado anoche ganador en la primera vuelta de las elecciones presidenciales de Nicaragua con el 38,07% de los votos a su favor, según anunció el Consejo Supremo Electoral (CSE) con el 91,8% de los votos escrutados. El candidato de la Alianza Liberal Nicaraguense (ALN), Eduardo Montealegre, que quedó en segundo lugar con el 29%, reconoció públicamente la victoria de Ortega.</p>

			<p>"El resultado del voto popular favorece a Daniel Ortega, a quien he llamado para extenderle mis felicitaciones", dijo Montealegre en rueda de prensa. En sus primeras declaraciones tras difundirse el resultado, Ortega se comprometió a mantener la "estabilidad" y en trabajar para "sacar a Nicaragua de la pobreza". (...)"</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/2006/11/08/internacional/1162940414_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ortega wins back presidency of Nicaragua; Ex-Revolutionary avoids Runoff Vote 8 de noviembre de 2006. The Washington Post. "Former Marxist revolutionary Daniel Ortega won back Nicaragua's presidency, according to updated results released Tuesday. With 91 percent of precincts reporting, the Cold War icon continued his lead with 38 percent of the ballots cast in Sunday's vote, assuring a first-round victory. Under Nicaraguan election law, a candidate can win a first-round with 35 percent of ballots and a five-point lead. Ortega's closest contender, Eduardo Montealegre of the Nicaraguan Liberal Alliance, conceded the election late Tuesday after garnering 29 percent of the vote. José Rizo of the Constitutionalist Liberal Party had 26 percent, Edmundo Jarquin of the Sandinista Renovation Movement had 6 percent, and Eden Pastora, a Sandinista commander who turned against his former comrades and led an anti-Sandinista rebel force in the 1980s, had less than 1 percent. Ortega was more solemn than jubilant as he accepted Montealegre's congratulations at a joint appearance Tuesday night. "We can't talk of winners or of losers," he said. "This is simply a process in which we all need to work together for the good of Nicaragua." (...)"</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18536814899&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=51&resultsUriKey=29_T18536818303&cisb=22_T18536818302&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8075&docNo=59</p>
<p>Nicaragua 2011</p>	<p>1=1 2=1 3=1</p>	<p>According to international observers, some Nicaraguan civil society organizations and the opposition parties, the presidential election held on November of 2011 was full of irregularities. None of the opponents recognized the victory of Daniel</p>	<p>Election date: 06/11/2011 Winner: Daniel Ortega Runner-up candidate: Fabio Gadea Mantilla</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

		<p>Ortega. The opposition candidates asked their supporters to protest and urge the electoral tribunal for a recount.</p>	<p>Señalan que es imposible impugnar legalidad de las elecciones Candidato del PLC rechazó cualquier intento en ese sentido</p> <p>REDACCIÓN CENTRAL 26 DE OCTUBRE DE 2011 - 12:06:31 Candidato del PLC rechazó cualquier intento en ese sentido</p> <p>Para el candidato a diputado del Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC), Alfredo César, el grupo conformado por Eduardo Montealegre, Fabio Gadea y los miembros del MRS, no pueden alegar ningún fraude en las elecciones del próximo 6 de noviembre, ya que la presencia de la Unión Europea (UE) y de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) como acompañantes de los comicios han echado por tierra esa hipótesis.</p> <p>De acuerdo al político de tendencia conservadora, el PLI-MRS al quedarse sin el argumento del fraude, ahora está tratando de vender la violencia como única respuesta a la derrota electoral que se avecina o bien recurriendo de última hora a la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos para descalificar la candidatura del Comandante Daniel Ortega.</p> <p>“Estos señores lo que están es creando excusas para desde ahorita anunciar su fracaso”, reflexionó César.</p> <p>A su criterio, la candidatura presidencial de Gadea dentro del Partido Liberal Independiente no es más que una “mampara” para el MRS y demás disidentes liberales y conservadores.</p> <p>En cuanto a la “fortaleza” electoral que presenta Gadea Mantilla, dijo que ésta se presenta sobre todo en un pequeño sector de la clase media, pero que en los demás sectores y principalmente en el campo no es ninguna opción creíble.</p> <p>César dijo que, además de disidentes sin partido, otro punto que no favorece al PLI y por el que no cuenta con suficiente apoyo popular, es que también lo integran organizaciones que promueven abiertamente el aborto.</p> <p>http://www.lavozdelsandinismo.com/nicaragua/2011-10-26/senalan-que-es-imposible-impugnar-legalidad-de-las-elecciones/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>President Daniel Ortega wins Nicaragua election; President Daniel Ortega, the one-time Marxist revolutionary, has won a third term in power</p>
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			<p>in Nicaragua in a controversial landslide victory which his opponent condemned as "fraud". 8 de noviembre de 2011. The telegraph.</p> <p>With votes from more than 85 per cent of polling stations counted, Mr Ortega had nearly 63 per cent of the vote compared to 31 per cent for Fabio Gadea, a right-wing radio personality. Thousands of Mr Ortega's supporters poured onto the streets of the capital Managua and other cities to celebrate the victory, which followed a period of sustained economic growth in Central America's poorest country.</p> <p>But Mr Gadea, who campaigned on an anti-corruption platform, pointed to allegations of widespread voting irregularities which he said amounted to "fraud". "We can't accept the results presented by the Supreme Electoral Council because they don't reflect the people's wishes," he said.</p> <p>International election observers had complained of being blocked from certain polling stations during voting but later said that the irregularities had not changed the final result.</p> <p>Mr Ortega, who has been the dominant political figure in Nicaragua for decades and first ruled as president from 1985 to 1990, has moderated some of his socialist policies since being re-elected in 2006, allowing private businesses to work untroubled while pouring money into health and education programmes.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18537312920&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18537312924&cisb=22_T18537312923&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=389195&docNo=16</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>AMCHAM: CSE debería considerar anulación de elecciones</p> <p>* Cámara de Comercio Americana recuerda que el Artículo 168 de la Ley Electoral señala “la posibilidad de la declaración de nulidad al comprobarse la existencia de los vicios informados o reclamados, siendo estas nulidades de tal magnitud que claramente inciden en los resultados generales de las elecciones”.</p> <p>Iván Olivares 8/11/2011 @IvanOlivares66</p> <p>La Cámara Americana de Comercio (AMCHAM), dijo en un comunicado que “deberá considerarse la aplicación del artículo 168 de la Ley Electoral”, que señala “la posibilidad de la declaración de nulidad al comprobarse la existencia de los vicios informados o reclamados, siendo</p>
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			<p>estas nulidades de tal magnitud que claramente inciden en los resultados generales de las elecciones”.</p> <p>El párrafo segundo del citado artículo de la Ley Electoral, dice que “si las nulidades son de tal magnitud que incidan en los resultados generales de las elecciones, el Consejo Supremo Electoral declarará nula toda la elección o elecciones verificadas”.</p> <p>El comunicado de AMCHAM hace referencias a las denuncias conocidas a lo largo de más de un año, -incluyendo el propio día de las elecciones– las que a su juicio, invalidarían el proceso electoral completo.</p> <p>La Cámara hace referencia a “candidaturas ilegales, limitantes a los partidos opositores, uso de recursos del Estado en beneficio del partido oficialista, cedulación sesgada y distribución de las mismas por personeros ligados al oficialismo, el no permitir la observación nacional de dicho proceso y la limitación a los observadores internacionales”.</p> <p>También “la expulsión de fiscales durante el proceso de apertura de Juntas Receptoras de Votos y en el escrutinio mismo, la no divulgación de los resultados de cada JRV como lo mandata la ley, entre otras muchas anomalías”, añade.</p> <p>Todo esto da como resultado “un proceso no transparente cuyas consecuencias hacen que los resultados del mismo no brinden los elementos de credibilidad que nos permitan conocer si representan genuinamente la voluntad popular, al igual como sucedió en las elecciones municipales del 2008”.</p> <p>Es por eso que invocan el artículo 168 de la Ley Electoral, y hacen “un llamado al respeto a la ley y a la voluntad popular. Nuestro país necesita de un clima apropiado para promover la inversión nacional y extranjera y desafortunadamente el proceso electoral no ha satisfecho a la mayor parte de los ciudadanos nicaragüenses”.</p> <p>Vocero del CSE: es absurdo</p> <p>Consultado, el vocero del Consejo Supremo Electoral, Félix Navarrete, negó la posibilidad que reclama AMCHAM, porque “es absurdo”.</p>
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			<p>“Ninguno de los observadores internacionales ha revelado incidencias mayores que pudieran impugnar el proceso electoral completo. Ninguno ha usado la palabra fraude, y nadie tiene pruebas de que haya habido negligencia en la entrega de cédulas”, recitó.</p> <p>Pero la Misión de Observación Electoral de la Unión Europea sí hace referencia al tema, al decir en un primer informe, que detectó “un problema extendido en la emisión por parte del CSE de cédulas de identidad”, cuya distribución se dejó en muchos casos en manos de cuadros del FSLN y de miembros de los Consejos del Poder Ciudadano, (CPC).</p> <p>Navarrete acomete de nuevo, e insiste en que “es más, nunca se había entregado tantas cédulas como en el último año”.</p> <p>¿Y la gente que entró por la fuerza a varias oficinas del Consejo en busca de sus cédulas?</p> <p>Esos eran simpatizantes del PLI, no ciudadanos...</p> <p>¿No son ciudadanos?</p> <p>Sí, pero azuzados por un partido político. AMCHAM debería reconocer la derrota de su candidato, el señor Fabio Gadea Mantilla, en vez de estar pidiendo absurdos e imposibles. http://www.confidencial.com.ni/articulo/5338/#sthash.ZGJ7XRFj.dpuf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>La violencia tras las elecciones causa tres muertos en Nicaragua 10 de noviembre de 2011. El país.</p> <p>“Cada tarde desde el pasado domingo, cuando se celebraron las elecciones presidenciales en Nicaragua, grupos de jóvenes y simpatizantes de la oposición a Daniel Ortega organizan pequeñas manifestaciones en puntos estratégicos de la capital, Managua. Protestan por lo que consideran un fraude electoral y exigiendo nuevas elecciones. Las protestas han terminado en choques con los seguidores del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN). En el interior del país, los enfrentamientos han dejado ya seis muertos y docenas de detenidos. La oposición llama a una “resistencia pacífica”, mientras que Ortega, que arrasó en las presidenciales, ha pedido a los opositores que acepten su derrota y “trabajen por Nicaragua”.</p> <p>(...) Las elecciones del domingo han sido denunciadas como fraudulentas por la oposición. Hasta ahora, ninguno de los candidatos opositores ha reconocido el triunfo de Ortega, algo inédito</p>
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			<p>desde la llegada de la democracia electoral en 1990. Organizaciones civiles han llamado a los ciudadanos a desconocer los resultados electorales, asegurando que el proceso estuvo plagado de anomalías. Los observadores electorales internacionales, si bien no ponen en entredicho el triunfo de Ortega, han afirmado que el Tribunal Electoral falló en la administración del proceso, que califican de poco transparente. Parlamentarios europeos que observaron las elecciones nicaragüenses señalaron a los magistrados que conforman el Tribunal Electoral de parcializados y de imponer “trampas” y “zancadillas” contra la oposición. Por su parte, la empresa privada, a través de la principal cámara empresarial del país, el Cosep, ha pedido a las autoridades electorales que cuenten de nuevo los resultados en las más de 12 mesas electorales del todo el país para esclarecer si la victoria de Ortega fue transparente.</p> <p>Fabio Gadea Mantilla, el candidato de 80 años que obtuvo el segundo lugar en la contienda, llamó este miércoles a sus simpatizantes a mantener una “resistencia pacífica”, según un mensaje que leyó en los cuarteles electorales de su alianza PLI-UNE, localizados cerca del centro de Managua.</p> <p>“Los resultados presentados por el CSE son la manifestación de un monstruoso fraude a la voluntad popular. En ese contexto son entendibles las manifestaciones de indignación, frustración y protesta de los nicaragüenses”, dijo Gadea. “Pedimos al Gobierno que respete la voluntad popular y pedimos a los nicaragüenses que sientan vulnerados sus derechos, a expresarse pacíficamente en sus respectivas comunidades como señal de repudio al fraude electoral perpetrado por el CSE”, agregó el político opositor, quien obtuvo el 31.13% de los votos.</p> <p>El presidente Ortega habló el miércoles haciendo un llamado a la paz y exigiendo a los candidatos opositores a que reconozcan su derrota, en un mensaje por cadena nacional. Ortega pidió superar los resultados electorales y “trabajar por Nicaragua”. (...)”</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2011/11/10/actualidad/1320886199_701043.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 0 -</p> <p>Ya habían alertado de opacidad en elecciones presidenciales</p> <p>Misión de UE presentará informe final</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • En noviembre, la misión de observación europea criticó la falta de "neutralidad" del Consejo Supremo Electoral que, dijeron, mostró "repetidas muestras de parcialidad y escasa independencia". <p>EFE 20/2/2012</p>
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			<p>El eurodiputado socialista español Luis Yáñez-Barnuevo llegó este lunes a Managua para presentar las conclusiones de la misión de observación electoral enviada por la Unión Europea (UE) a los comicios del pasado 6 de noviembre, en los que resultó reelecto de forma cuestionado Daniel Ortega.</p> <p>Yáñez, que permanecerá hasta el viernes en el país, dará a conocer el próximo miércoles el informe definitivo de la misión de la UE, dijo un portavoz de la delegación europea en Managua. Yáñez-Barnuevo, que fue jefe de la misión de observación, ya alertó el pasado 8 de noviembre de que supuestamente faltó "transparencia" en las elecciones celebradas dos días antes.</p> <p>Yáñez señaló entonces que era "indudable" que Ortega había ganado las elecciones, pero precisó que eso no implicaba que hubiera habido "transparencia y limpieza" en el proceso. El eurodiputado denunció que las autoridades electorales nicaragüenses actuaron con "opacidad y arbitrariedad" en la fase final de los comicios al no acreditar a los fiscales de oposición en las mesas de votación y no permitir la observación a "varios grupos nacionales de dilatada experiencia".</p> <p>Asimismo, los observadores de la UE criticaron la falta de "neutralidad" del Consejo Supremo Electoral que, dijeron, mostró "repetidas muestras de parcialidad y escasa independencia".</p> <p>Ortega ganó con el 62,46 % de los votos según los resultados oficiales, pero ninguno de sus cuatro adversarios reconoció esa victoria, y, por el contrario, denunciaron "irregularidades" en el proceso. En los días que siguieron a los comicios del 6 de noviembre se registraron importantes disturbios en el país que dejaron tres opositores y un sandinista muertos, y heridos a 49 policías y decenas de civiles, según la Policía Nacional.</p> <p>El Gobierno instó entonces a los ciudadanos a trabajar "en armonía" y promover una "imagen positiva" del país, en tanto que el principal oponente de Ortega en las elecciones, Fabio Gadea, llamó a mantener una "resistencia pacífica" en las calles.</p> <p>El líder sandinista inició su nuevo mandato de 5 años el 10 de enero pasado y la Fiscalía Electoral desestimó hace 10 días una denuncia por fraude en la votación, que había sido introducida por un grupo de abogados opositores. Alemania recortó su cooperación a Nicaragua por el "retroceso grave en el estado democrático" tras las pasadas elecciones, según explicó en enero la embajadora germana en Managua, Betina Kern.</p>
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			<p>Por su parte, Estados Unidos informó en enero pasado que revisará su ayuda económica en Nicaragua y aplicará un "agresivo escrutinio" a los préstamos concedidos a este país dentro de los organismos multilaterales.</p> <p>Además, el vicesecretario adjunto de Estado en funciones para el hemisferio occidental de Estados Unidos, Kevin Whitaker, expresó la semana pasada su "preocupación" por la situación de la democracia en Nicaragua, al concluir una visita de tres días en Managua. El Gobierno nicaragüense ha defendido la transparencia de esas elecciones y ha dicho que no aceptará cooperación internacional "condicionada".</p> <p>http://www.confidencial.com.ni/articulo/5900/mision-de-ue-presentara-informe-final#sthash.9ESw2cxs.dpuf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NICARAGUA INFORME FINAL Elecciones Generales y al Parlacen 2011 MISIÓN DE OBSERVACIÓN ELECTORAL DE LA UNIÓN EUROPEA</p> <p>I. RECAPITULACIÓN Consideraciones generales</p> <p>A las elecciones generales y al Parlacen del 2011, las quintas celebradas en Nicaragua desde la aprobación de la Constitución de 1987, concurren cinco fuerzas políticas. Por un lado, la alianza creada en torno al Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) presentó la candidatura a la reelección del Presidente saliente, Daniel Ortega, que fue admitida tras una discutida sentencia de la sala de lo constitucional de la Corte Suprema de Justicia. Frente al oficialismo, en el campo liberal, los dos contendientes principales fueron las alianzas articuladas alrededor del Partido Liberal Independiente (PLI), con Fabio Gadea como candidato a la Presidencia y al Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC) de Arnoldo Alemán. Otras dos agrupaciones de raíz liberal, el partido Alianza Liberal Nacionalista (ALN) y la Alianza por la República (APRE), con expectativas muy bajas en las encuestas pre-electorales, completaron la boleta. Los sondeos de opinión vaticinaban una nueva victoria del oficialismo e indicaban una clara tendencia a la concentración del voto liberal y/o de oposición al Presidente Ortega en el PLI. Las principales incógnitas políticas que se planteaban en la fase previa a las elecciones eran la magnitud de la mayoría oficialista en la Asamblea nacional y, tras el precedente de las elecciones municipales de 2008, la propia transparencia del proceso electoral.</p>
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			<p>Impugnaciones y recursos</p> <p>Se registraron muy pocas quejas durante las sumatorias y revisión municipales y departamentales debido a una serie de factores: la limitada nómina de fundamentos para las quejas, la ausencia de una regulación que establezca un procedimiento claro para presentar quejas y la consiguiente falta de confianza en el proceso, así como los obstáculos que se interpusieron al trabajo de los fiscales en los centros de cómputo y en todas las etapas precedentes.</p> <p>Finalmente, los recursos se filtran en el nivel municipal, donde el CEM determina si tienen o no fundamento, en función de lo cual se rechazan o se elevan al nivel departamental para su consideración. Según la observación de la MOE UE, aproximadamente la mitad de las impugnaciones consideradas a nivel municipal se rechazaron por no tener fundamento. La ley no prevé explícitamente un derecho de apelación contra estas decisiones.</p> <p>Sin embargo, observadores de la MOE UE registraron 37 JRV impugnadas en ocho departamentos del país²³. De éstas, 17 fueron anuladas en siete departamentos, a pesar de que las quejas se podían haber resuelto con un mero recuento²⁴. Sólo en uno de los casos registrados (en la RAAS) se procedió a un recuento en respuesta a una queja. De las JRV anuladas, 11 lo fueron en respuesta a la impugnación presentada por el FSLN, tres en respuesta a quejas del PLI y una, inexplicablemente, en respuesta a un error aritmético. En los restantes tres casos fue imposible verificar el origen de la queja.</p> <p>Como se ha señalado anteriormente, la premura del CSE por anunciar resultados provisionales en viernes y, sobre todo, 11 días antes de lo marcado en el calendario electoral, en abierta contravención de la ley electoral, redujo drásticamente el tiempo disponible para que los partidos formularan recursos de revisión, especialmente los de la oposición, que habían sufrido grandes dificultades o simplemente no habían podido obtener copias de las actas de escrutinio en un porcentaje elevado de JRV. Aun así, fueron presentados dos: uno por el PLI, que en realidad era una queja contra la ilegalidad del adelanto de la publicación de los resultados y contra el trato discriminatorio sufrido por sus fiscales por parte de la administración electoral y otro por el PLC, en el que se cuestionaban los resultados pero no se aportaban actas en apoyo. Ambos fueron desestimados.</p> <p>RECOMENDACIONES</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Quejas, impugnaciones y recursos</p> <p>14. La MOE UE recomienda al CSE la aprobación de un reglamento claro y detallado sobre los procedimientos para presentar quejas contra cualquier decisión, acción u omisión del CSE. Las regulaciones sobre quejas deberían especificar con claridad plazos de interposición y resolución así</p>
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			<p>como posibles formas de remedios legales en el caso de que el órgano competente las considere procedentes.</p> <p>15. La regulación taxativa y limitada de causales de impugnación de una JRV que hace la ley electoral no recoge un gran número de incidentes e irregularidades que podrían afectar de manera relevante a la validez de la votación o del escrutinio. Además, la anulación de la junta impugnada como consecuencia que la ley deriva de la aceptación de la impugnación, es de extrema gravedad y nada respetuosa con la voluntad de los votantes en aquellos casos en los que un simple recuento, o una cierta investigación del hecho causante de la impugnación con audiencia a las partes, serviría para clarificar la regularidad del escrutinio. Finalmente, la ley solo contempla la posibilidad de repetición de la elección en una determinada circunscripción cuando hayan sido anuladas la mitad de las JRV de la misma.</p> <p>La MOE UE recomienda a la Asamblea Nacional una reforma de la ley electoral que regule de forma más amplia y comprensiva los causales de impugnación de las JRV, preferiblemente con una cláusula final abierta referida a cualquier irregularidad que pueda afectar a la integridad, transparencia y veracidad de la votación y el escrutinio. Dicha reforma debería reforzar el recurso al recuento como remedio a la impugnación cuando las irregularidades denunciadas en la impugnación afecten al conteo o a la transcripción de los resultados en las actas. La Misión recomienda igualmente, en aras del respeto a la voluntad expresada por los votantes y para evitar anulaciones selectivas que puedan afectar a los resultados, que la repetición de las elecciones en una determinada circunscripción dependa de que el número de votantes inscritos en las JRV anuladas sea suficiente para alterar los resultados de la elección en dicha circunscripción.</p> <p>http://www.eucom.eu/files/pressreleases/english/moeue-nicaragua-informe-final-22022012_es.pdf</p>
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Nigeria 1979-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
			<p>Transition elections are the general elections organized by a departing political authority, which include those organized by the departing colonial authorities in 1954 and 1959, and those organized by military regimes in 1979, 1993 and 1999.</p>
<p>Nigeria 1979</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>Awolowo filed a petition against the declaration of Shagari as President-elect elect at the special tribunal instituted to hear petitions on the presidential election. The tribunal said that Shagari was duly elected as president. Awolowo appealed to the Supreme Court. There were no extra-institutional protests.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 11 August 1979 <i>Winner:</i> Shehu Shagari, National Party of Nigeria <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Obafemi Awolowo, Unity Party of Nigeria</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Oyediran, Oyeleye. 1981. <i>The Nigerian 1979 Elections</i>. London: The Macmillan Press.</p> <p>On Monday 20 August Awolowo, who was declared the runner-up at the presidential election, filed a petition against the declaration of Shagari as President-elect at the special tribunal instituted to hear petitions on the presidential election. Joined with the President-elect were Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi, chief electoral officer, and F. L. O. Menkiti, returning officer, presidential election: The petition was based on the following grounds:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) that Shagari was at the time of the election not duly elected by a majority of lawful votes at the election as he did not satisfy section 3A subsection (1)(c)(ii) of the Electoral Decree 1977; (b) that Shagari had less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the states in the federation; (c) the election of Shagari was invalid by reason of non-compliance with the provisions of Part II of the Electoral Decree 1977. <p>Awolowo therefore prayed the court:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) to determine that Shagari was not duly elected or returned and that his election or return was void; and (b) to order Kurfi and Menkiti to arrange for an election to be held in accordance with the provisions of section 3A(3) of the Electoral (Amendment) Decree 1977 i.e. order and election by the Electoral colleges to be contested by Shagari and himself.

			<p>One week after Awolowo’s petition was submitted to the tribunal Shagari gave a reply to the allegations raised. In that reply Shagari stated that he was duly returned by a majority of lawful votes. Secondly that the result of the presidential election held on 11 August 1979 was declared on 16 August 1979 ‘and the electoral Colleges which the petitioners now want held must have been arranged and held within seven days from August 16,1979’, and that Kurfi and Menkiti as chief electoral officer and returning officer respectively had ceased to have ‘any lawful authority to arrange for or to hold any electoral College’, for the same presidential election. He further stated that the presidential election was conducted in actual compliance, or alternatively in substantial compliance, with the provisions of part II of the Electoral Decree 1977 as amended; that only the Electoral Commission and not Kurfi and/or Menkiti had the authority to arrange for an election to be held in accordance with the provisions of the decree and the Electoral Commission is not a party to the petition before the tribunal. [146]</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Awolowo appealed to the Supreme Court and, in its decision [147] made public on Wednesday 26 September 1979, the highest court in the federation was divided. The majority decision was read by the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Fatai-Williams (appointed by the military about 9 months earlier). Others on the majority side were Supreme Court Justices Ayo Irikefe, Mohammed Bello, Chukwuweike Idighie and Muhammadu Uwais. Three interesting points were made by the majority in its decision to dismiss the appeal. These were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) though the section of the Electoral Decree in dispute was clumsily worded it is nevertheless devoid of any semantic ambiguity; (b) that ‘until election returns can be computerized in this country, “the mathematical canon of interpretation’ put forward by Professor Awojobi ... in his testimony before the tribunal will remain impracticable and legally unacceptable!’ (c) that even if the court had found that there had been non-compliance with section 34A (1)©(ii) of Decree, they would have held that the presidential election ‘was conducted substantially in accordance with the provisions’ of the decree which states that ‘An election shall not be invalidated by reason of non-compliance with part II of the Decree if it appears to the Tribunal having recognition of the said part II and that noncompliance did not affect the result of the election’.[148] <p>This was only one aspect of the political factor which affected the selection of the Cabinet. The other factor was the relative strength of the political parties at the polls which necessitated the agreement of an accord between the NPN with the largest legislative seats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate and the NPN. At the end of the elections the relative legislative strengths of the five registered political parties were as follows: House of Representatives: NPN</p>
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			<p>168, UPN 111, NPP 78, PRP 49, and GNPP 43. The corresponding figures for the Senate were: NPN 36%, UPN 28, NPP 16, PRP 7, and GNPP 8.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA BY Dr. Nkwachukwu Orji and Nkiru Uzodi Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)</p> <p>The 1979, 1993 and 1999 elections also took place without significant incidents of election-related violence. [...]</p> <p>The main explanation for relative absence of violence in transition elections is the role that departing political authority usually play as a strong umpire, relatively independent of the political forces contending to capture power. [17]</p> <p>Indeed, the military government intervened in all the transition elections attempting to arbitrate inter-party conflicts and to caution politicians on the need to adhere to the established rules of conduct. During the 1979 elections, for example, the military played open and strong oversight roles on two specific occasions (Koehn 1981: 28). On 28 December 1978, the then Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Major-General Shehu Yar'adua, convened a meeting with the five presidential candidates. At the meeting, he warned against the bitter personal attacks which had already surfaced in the campaign and extracted a pledge from each of the candidates that they would endeavour to be fair, would refrain from personal abuse, and would abide by the verdict of the electorate. Again, on 31 March 1979, the then Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo invited all the presidential candidates to another meeting where he repeated criticisms of their personal attacks on one another and specifically instructed each of the candidates to stop making statements that would provoke violence. The implicit message delivered at both meetings was that the military was closely monitoring the electoral process and would not tolerate excesses that could disrupt the elections or threaten peace and national unity.</p> <p>Consolidation elections Unlike transition elections, consolidation elections are more prone to violence.</p> <p>http://www.placng.org/new/publications/PEV.pdf</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Statistics of House Election:</p>
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			http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/NIGERIA_1979_E.PDF
Nigeria 1999	1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0	Olu Falae refused to concede defeat, said that the election was marred by serious fraud, and filed a petition challenging the result of Nigeria's February 27 presidential elections. No evidence of street protest was found.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 27 February 1999. <i>Winner:</i> Olusegun Obasanjo, People's Democratic Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Olu Falae, Alliance for Democracy-All People's Party</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In August 1998, the Abubakar government appointed the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to conduct elections for local government councils, state legislatures and governors, the national assembly, and president. NEC successfully held these elections on December 5, 1998, January 9, 1999, February 20, and February 27, 1999, respectively. For the local elections, a total of nine parties were granted provisional registration, with three fulfilling the requirements to contest the following elections. These parties were the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All Peoples Party (APP), and the predominantly Yoruba Alliance for Democracy (AD). Former military head of state Olusegun Obasanjo, freed from prison by Abubakar, ran as a civilian candidate and won the presidential election. Irregularities marred the vote, and the defeated candidate, Chief Olu Falae, challenged the electoral results and Obasanjo's victory in court.</p> <p>The PRC promulgated a new constitution based largely on the suspended 1979 constitution, before the May 29, 1999 inauguration of the new civilian president. The constitution includes provisions for a bicameral legislature, the National Assembly, consisting of a 360-member House of Representatives and a 109-member Senate. The executive branch and the office of president will retain strong federal powers. The legislature and judiciary, having suffered years of neglect, must be rebuilt as institutions.</p> <p>http://www.ng.total.com/01_about_nigeria/0103_history.htm</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>FEB. 28-MARCH 6; A New Leader Is Elected in Nigeria By NORIMITSU ONISHI Published: March 7, 1999 Nigeria chose a former military ruler, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, to lead its first civilian Government in 16 years, hoping to put an end to one of the darkest periods in Africa's most populous nation.</p>

			<p>The election of General Obasanjo, still the only soldier in his country to have stepped down voluntarily from power, was blemished by serious fraud and the refusal by his rival, Olu Falae, to concede defeat. But most international observers said the cheating had not been significant enough to alter the outcome, given the margin.</p> <p>What kind of leader the general will be remains unclear. He is respected internationally for his diplomacy, but remembered at home for his strong hand during his tenure from 1976 to 1979. And while he is often seen in the West as someone who has defended democracy, he also has close ties with corrupt, retired generals who clung to power under previous military regimes. NORIMITSU ONISHI</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1999/03/07/weekinreview/feb-28-march-6-a-new-leader-is-elected-in-nigeria.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>And Obasanjo himself has conveniently forgotten that the election that brought him to power in 1999, conducted by General Abdulsalami Abubakar, as imperfect as it was, was largely accepted by Nigerians and the international community. That is why General Abubakar has become an international statesman today. And even though Olu Falae went to court, he had to withdraw the case unceremoniously because Nigerians had already accepted the result of the poll. The election, of course, was largely free and fair and represented the will of the people then. That election remains a far cry from the 2003 and 2007 elections Obasanjo himself conducted in which he organised the massive rigging, recruited the riggers and then bribed the courts to thwart the people's will.</p> <p>https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/NigerianWorldForum/conversations/messages/36289</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>-----</p> <p>SPMGN SPOTLIGHT 01: The Falae/Obasanjo Presidential Petition</p> <p>March 22, 1999</p> <p>-----</p> <p>P.M. News</p>
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			<p>Falae's Case: Judge Quits</p> <p>March 22, 1999</p> <p>Lagos - Justice Umaru Abdullahi, the presiding judge in the petition challenging the result of Nigeria's February 27 presidential elections today withdrew from the case citing conflict of interest.</p> <p>Adullahi said at the hearing in the capital Abuja he would no longer lead the five Court of Appeal judges hearing the petition because his wife was a senior official of the electoral commission, a respondent in the case.</p> <p>The wife, Mrs. Abdullahi is the resident electoral commissioner in Edo State. The victory of former Nigerian military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party is being challenged by Olu Falae of the All Peoples Party, who alleges malpractices involving electoral officials.</p> <p>"I wish to bring to your knowledge that my wife is the electoral commissioner of Edo State. And as such, to avoid allegations of bias I wish to withdraw from the case," said Abdullahi when the matter came up this morning.</p> <p>The other judges, G.A. Oguntade, J.T Akpabio, A. M. Mufutau and D.O Edozie retired for ten minutes to deliberate on the bombshell thrown by Justice Abdullahi.</p> <p>Their decision was that Abdullahi should step down. Counsel for both parties, GOK Ajayi, for Olu Falae and Chief Afe Babalola, for Olusegun Obasanjo and the INEC lawyer, Kehinde Sofola, accepted his decision and the Court of Appeal adjourned to appoint a new presiding judge to enable the hearing to continue. Before Abdullahi left the court, he apologised for the poor state of facilities at the court.</p> <p>"The world is watching us. We promise to be fair to all. Counsel should assist for fair trial so that this nation will be fair to all. God will</p>
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			<p>take care of the rest if we do our best", he said.</p> <p>Sofola also replied in the same vein, pledging the cooperation of the lawyers with the bench. "It is of paramount interest that justice be done", he added. About fifty lawyers were present in court today.</p> <p>The room itself was overfilled, such that the air conditioner broke down. Under General Abdulsalami Abubakar's plan to end 15 years of military rule in Africa's most populous country of 108 million, the winner of the elections will form the next government after he steps down on May 29.</p> <p>Meanwhile, public expectation that the just concluded political transition programme will climax on 29 May when the military are billed to quit power and handover to the President-elect, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (retd) maybe dashed as Chief Olu Falae, A.P.P. at 27 February polls this morning vowed to challenge Obasanjo's victory at the Supreme Court if he loses at the Appeal Court.</p> <p>Asked why he was in Court after the elections, Chief Falae, speaking on BBC Network Africa today said, "I won the elections and not Obasanjo".</p> <p>"The Nigerian people voted for me but the mandate was upturned through, fraudulent manipulations, he claimed." The APP-AD joint presidential candidate declared that Gen. Obasanjo who was declared winner of the election and who contested on the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) may not have been part of the electoral fraud as he was at his Otta farm during the polls, and could not have been in all the places where rigging occurred.</p> <p>Chief Falae indicted low and middle level officers of the Independent National Electoral commission (INEC) for alleged complicity in massive rigging. "I have overwhelming evidence that we shall give to the court to show that the elections were fraught with fraud in favour of the PDP candidate," he said Asked what will be his next line of action if he lost at the appeal court, Chief Falae said that he will take the battle to the Supreme Court. Chief Falae noted that if Gen. Obasanjo is sworn in as president on May 29, millions of Nigerians will be disappointed as the</p>
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			<p>country will have said good bye to democracy.</p> <p>"Genuine democracy cannot be founded on injustice and there is no way Obasanjo's government with over 100 generals around him can conduct a free and fair elections in the country, "he contended.</p> <p>He disclosed that he has evidence in a particular instance, that five million votes were manipulated in favour of Gen. Obasanjo. Though the Appeal Court has 29 days to pronounce judgement in the suit by Falae, if he makes good his threat to take his case to the Supreme court if he fails at the appellate court, the May 29 terminal date for the military for the military to return to the barracks could indeed suffer hiccups.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>SPMGN NOTE: 'The Resident Electoral Commissioner, Edo State' is named by title as the 5th Respondent in the Falae Petition, right after INEC itself.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>PM News</p> <p>Falae Affirms Respect For Obasanjo</p> <p>March 22, 1999 By Moses Uchendu</p> <p>Lagos - The All Peoples Party APP flagbearer in the February 27 election to the Nigerian presidency, chief Olu Falae has reiterated his respect for the person of Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo whom he described as his former boss.</p> <p>While speaking this morning in London with the British Broadcasting corporation (BBC) this morning, Chief Falae said he did not doubt the ability or integrity of General Obasanjo to steer the ship of the nation but insisted that he, and not Obasanjo, won the Nigerian presidential election.</p>
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			<p>Excerpts.</p> <p>Q: Did you ever have a second thought about going to court?</p> <p>A: Not at all. On the contrary. I said it is the only thing to do under these circumstances. You see, many Nigerians are afraid that what happened to Chief Abiola might happen to me so they are concerned about that.</p> <p>The second point is that they feel that if the court process continues the military might use it as an excuse for not handing over. They had all kinds of fears. But it seems they do not recognise one thing. That if a fraud of that scale is allowed to go free, and the government is based on it, that government based on fraud can never organise free and fair elections in the future.</p> <p>It means we will say good-bye to democracy and will eventually have in place a one party dictatorship dominated by retired generals. I don't want to be in that kind of a country.</p> <p>Q: Are you saying that Mr. Obasanjo did all these?</p> <p>A: No, not he as a person, I am talking about the INEC, the Independent National Electoral Commission and their agents in Nigeria at the lower levels and the middle levels they did this to the country. It is not Obasanjo as a person. He was in his farm in Ota, how could he know what was happening all over the country.</p> <p>Q: What do you think of Obasanjo? Is he a good man? Is he likely to be a good president?</p> <p>A: He was my boss. When he was head of state, I was one of his permanent secretaries. He did a good job. I am not doubting his integrity or his ability but I am saying he did not win the election and I did. That's all.</p> <p>-----</p>
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			<p>Appeal opens into Nigerian presidential elections Monday, 22-Mar-1999 9:54AM</p> <p>ABUJA, March 22 (AFP) - A court in Nigeria on Monday opened a hearing into the appeal launched by Olu Falae, the losing candidate in last month's presidential election who is seeking to overturn the results.</p> <p>The hearing opened a week after Falae, a former finance minister, lodged his appeal against the election winner, retired general Olusegun Obasanjo, claiming his election was the result of "monumental fraud".</p> <p>The first shock of the hearing came within minutes when the presiding judge, Justice Umaru Abdullahi, withdrew from the case after announcing that his wife was one of those named by Falae in the petition.</p> <p>She was an electoral officer in eastern Edo State, a region in which voting fraud took place according to the appeal.</p> <p>Abdullahi said that it was important that the hearing, which is expected to last for two weeks, be seen to be handled properly.</p> <p>"We have a very heavy responsibility. The whole of the nation is watching. Indeed, the whole world is watching. For our part, we will try to be fair," he said before withdrawing and handing over to Justice Dahiru Musdapher.</p> <p>The hearing then continued with arguments over technicalities.</p> <p>The case should last just two weeks, under the terms of an electoral decree which stipulates that all hearings must be completed within 21 days of the petition being lodged.</p> <p>-----</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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<p>Nigeria 2003</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>General Buhari went to Court to protest the way and manner in which the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted the 19th April, 2003 Presidential Election. No evidence of non institutional protest.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 19 April 2003 <i>Winner:</i> Olusegun Obasanjo, People's Democratic Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Muhammadu Buhari, All Nigeria People's Party</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Millions of people voted several times. The police in Lagos uncovered an electoral fraud, finding five million false ballots.</p> <p>International observers, including the European Union, determined various irregularities in 11 of the 36 Federal States. Thus in many cases votes were pre-filled or results were later amended. In some states those did not fulfill minimum standard for democratic elections.</p> <p>Nearly all opposition parties refused to recognize the result. The electoral committee noted for example that in the city Warri in the Niger delta of 135,739 voters, 133,529 voted for the parliamentary election. Observers reported, however, that up to the Saturday afternoon no elections and only some polling stations had opened. Also the counting time very long compared with other countries pointed according to observers on possible electoral fraud.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p style="text-align: center;">POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA BY Dr. Nkwachukwu Orji and Nkiru Uzodi Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)</p> <p>The 2003 and 2007 general elections witnessed a more sophisticated brand of electoral fraud than 1964/65 and 1983 elections. However, no significant incident of post-election violence was recorded⁷ (Human Rights Watch 2004, LeVan 2003: 36-38). The main reason why the widespread rigging of the 2003 and 2007 elections did not translate to violence is because the opposition could not sufficiently mobilize the people to protest the outcome of the elections. One thing that helped weaken opposition mobilization against the outcome of the 2003 and 2007 elections was the remarkable tendency of the ruling party to contain sectionalism by pushing for a broad national consensus behind the incumbent president in 2003, and the election of a northern Muslim in 2007 to succeed to the presidency after eight years of leadership by a southern Christian president. The elite consensus engineered by the PDP in favour of the re-election of President Obasanjo in 2003 was so deep that most people tended to accept the election even with its many blemishes. As noted by one analyst, the 2003 election was ‘hardly credible, but acceptable’ (Kew 2004).</p> <p>[...]Observers of elections in Nigeria note that during the 2003 elections, a major shift occurred in the pattern of electoral fraud in the country. They argue that the former pattern of electoral fraud - competitive rigging, gave way in 2003 for a more sophisticated mould known as ‘primitive accumulation of votes’ (Ibeanu 2003). Primitive accumulation of votes involves attempts by political forces to win votes by the use of both objective and structural violence, and disregard of the rule of law. Ibeanu (2007: 6) argues that primitive accumulation of votes is often justified in the name of communal interests such [21] as clan, ethnic, and religious groups, ‘though in fact it is self-seeking, and electoral regulatory regimes are captured by sectional and special interests. During the 2003 elections, primitive accumulation of votes reached its apogee particularly in the South-West zone where the ruling People’s Democratic Party (PDP) moved into states hitherto controlled by the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and dislodged the AD in five out of the six states it controlled in 1999. The political encounters between the PDP and AD in the South-West zone require a brief exposition. The Yoruba of the South-West zone had early access to western education; this helped them to produce many of the educated elite that championed Nigerian nationalism. The Yoruba elite felt that their progress in education and social advancement would pave the way for them to lead Nigeria (Ukeje and Adebani 2008: 570). However, attempts by two Yoruba sons – Obafemi Awolowo and M. K. O. Abiola at winning presidential elections during the First, Second, and Third Republics failed. The Yoruba blame Igbo and Northern elites for frustrating the ambitions of their sons⁸ (Ibrahim 1999:14, Sklar 1991). The annulment of the June</p>
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			<p>This morning the Supreme Court of Nigeria upheld the decision of the Court of Appeal that the 2003 Presidential Election result be allowed to stand. The decision flies in the face of facts, of law and of common sense. It is a political – not a legal judgment and Nigerians will regard it as such.</p> <p>ANPP and myself as their Presidential Candidate went to Court to protest the way and manner in which the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted the 19th April, 2003 Presidential Election. We appealed to the Supreme Court complaining about the Court of Appeal’s dismissal of our petition despite its findings of proof, and existence of undisputed evidence of substantial non-compliance with several fundamental provisions of the Electoral Act 2002. These include wide-spread violence of alarming magnitude which had resulted in numerous brutal killings of members of the ANPP, their supporters and innocent passers-by in several states of the country. The conduct of the elections was accompanied by unprecedented magnitude of brazen electoral malpractices by INEC in its official capacity, undue influence by the President through his illegal deployment of armed soldiers and police accompanied by party thugs during the purported election. The Court of Appeal had expressly held that INEC by its obvious bias had “negated its claim to neutrality and impartiality”. We had complained that the Court of Appeal having held expressly in the leading judgment, as well as in the concurring and dissenting judgments, that the production of election result was a fundamental element in the proof of the conduct of election where the conduct of the election was disputed, still upheld the Presidential election result when the result of election was not produced in Court. We further complained that the Lower Court’s presumed regularity of the official act of INEC even in the absence of an attempt at proving substantial regularity as expressly required by the law of evidence as interpreted in previous decisions of the Supreme Court.</p> <p>Our complaint to the Supreme Court was in furtherance of our belief that institutions created by the Constitution for the purpose of performing certain functions must be made to perform those functions.</p> <p>Although now thoroughly disappointed by the decision, yet, consequent upon our belief in, and commitment to, the enthronement and sustenance of true democracy based on the rule of law, and the imperative of respecting the final pronouncement of the body charged with nurturing the supremacy of the rule of law, on our part, we accept this decision of the Supreme Court, although we do not agree with it. But all the virtues of democracy we subscribe to will not lead to the existence of a stable society, unless people submit to certain rules of conduct. Where the government and its agencies do not subscribe to any rules and the Judiciary places them above the rule of law and the constitution, it only leads to the triumph of despair over hope.</p>
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			<p>We therefore urge our members and supporters all over the country to remain calm and face the future with renewed determination as it is now clear that the struggle to create a true democratic system based on the fundamental freedoms which include the right to choose who governs a people, would demand greater commitment and sacrifice by all who accept the democratic option.</p> <p>The democratic forces, the oppressed opponents of tyranny, the political parties and civil society organizations must now reflect deeply on the nature and form of the sacrifice they have to make if Nigerians are to be able to choose those who govern them. It is not possible to continue to evade those awesome responsibilities and hope for good democratic governance. At the minimum, these forces, tendencies and institutions have to find a way of forging viable alliances and working arrangements. They must refuse to be subverted by ethnic, religious, regional and other parochial considerations and propaganda. If we have not learnt enough from our bitter experiences of the 419 and local government elections of 2003 – 2005, we have ourselves entirely to blame.</p> <p>As we accept this denial of justice, it is pertinent to note the direct impact that it is bound to have on the country. Regrettably, our judiciary has failed to sanction those who admitted unleashing armed soldiers, police, and thugs on the civil society during the election. That those so deployed, terrorized and brutalized the civil society during the election is lavishly documented in the record of proceedings of the trial. So also is the fact that not a single person - military, police or civilian - who participated in the acts of terrorism which in many cases resulted in the death of innocent persons identified by the Court of Appeal to be mainly members of the ANPP, their supporters or innocent passers-by has been prosecuted.</p> <p>Our concern as responsible and patriotic citizens of this country is that the failure of our Courts to remedy this chilling wrong is likely to be construed as a signal for likely victims to, in future, take necessary steps to ensure self help for self protection. This will be an unfortunate and regrettable development.</p> <p>As we move to prepare ourselves for the 2007 elections, let us hope that there will be no circumstances created by those in authority before or during the elections, that would necessitate the imperative of self-help in the expectation that this time people would turn the other cheek. Regrettably, the main effect of this judgment is that no normal election will be held again in Nigeria in the near future. The local government elections held in 2004 and 2005 are clear examples of the character of future elections. There is also the danger of voter apathy, because many reasonable people, especially women will not go to polling booths to risk getting caught in officially-sponsored violence. This situation must not be allowed to continue. The courts have accepted and ruled that</p>
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			<p>the use of troops and police in intimidating the opposition was wrong and still ruled in favour of those who committed these crimes.</p> <p>Nigerians must awake and fight against this brigandage in the future.</p> <p>Let me again assure our supporters that my commitment to serving the country through politics is unshaken. We are here for the long haul. What persuaded me to join was the state of the country through bad government especially in the last six years. The country is in a bad shape with security non-existent; education, agriculture and environmental destruction of the oil producing areas receiving scant attention and corruption in government at an all time high. The masses of this country therefore need a leadership that will give them hope of a better government that will address their problems. We are ready to provide this leadership.</p> <p>Finally may I seize this opportunity to thank the leadership and membership of our party and our teeming supporters all over the country for their unrelenting support and encouragement, our support staff for their loyalty and dedication, the press for their substantially sustained coverage of the longest single judicial proceeding in the history of Africa, or perhaps the entire world. I also hereby express our gratitude to the judiciary for at least allowing us the opportunity to put on record for posterity evidence of the biggest electoral fraud in the history of democratic elections in Nigeria. One only hopes that their decisions were consistent with the dictates of their conscience under the Will of the Almighty.</p> <p>Long Live Democratic Federal Republic of Nigeria.</p> <p>GENERAL MUHAMMADU BUHARI, G.C.F.R. 1ST JULY, 2005 http://www.dawodu.com/buhari2.htm</p> <p>-0-</p>
<p>Nigeria 2007</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>"People were forced to thumb-print in front of the PDP agents and then they took the ballot and put it in the ballot box," he told the BBC.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 21 April 2007 <i>Winner:</i> Umaru Yar'Adua, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Muhammadu Buhari, All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP)</p> <p>-0-</p>

		<p>Some 200 people were killed in election violence, according to European Union observers.</p> <p>Our correspondent says the opposition has been reluctant to call for street protests because it fears they could spiral out of control.</p> <p>Opposition parties have called for the annulment of the elections.</p> <p>They filed a petition before the Appeals courts. But the election tribunal said that opposition leaders former Nigerian Vice President Atiku Abubakar and former army general Muhammadu Buhari failed to show that the fraud was extensive enough to affect the outcome of the election. They appealed to the Supreme Court who also upheld the election in December 2008.</p>	<p>For those who thought that Nigeria had reached its highest stage of electoral fraud in 2003, the 2007 elections proved that the ‘worst is yet to come’. The stage for the electoral impunity that characterized the 2007 election was set by President Olusegun Obasanjo when he declared that the election would be a ‘do-or-die affair’ for the ruling PDP (Suberu 2007: 98). On one hand, Obasanjo’s comment eroded the optimism of some who felt that the 2007 election would kick start a breakaway from the history of electoral fraud in Nigeria. But on the other hand, Obasanjo’s comments reflected the thinking within the PDP, especially as a top party official had earlier been reported as saying that the party would dominate Nigerian politics for at least sixty years. President Obasanjo and, by extension, the PDP did not stop at words. Their threat to approach the 2007 election with all sense of guts was actually applied. The result was a blatantly rigged election in which the people’s mandate was overtly stolen. Analysts observed that the electoral fraud in 2007 reached a new height in the history of Nigerian elections. Beyond the stages of competitive rigging and primitive accumulation of votes, electoral fraud in the 2007 election was dubbed ‘direct capture’ of the people’s mandate (Ibrahim and [23] Ibeanu 2009). In conceptualizing the specificities of ‘direct capture’ in the 2007 elections, Ibeanu (2009: 10) asserts: It does appear that government agencies and the ruling party pulled off one of the most brazen stealing of votes ever recorded in Nigerian history. While in the past, rigging was regarded as an illegal act to be carried out subtly and covertly, in 2007 it was direct, brazen and daring. Indeed, it was an unprecedented direct seizure of votes and mandates. The people’s mandate could not have been more directly captured.</p> <p>The flaws that characterize the conduct of the 2007 elections severely dented Nigeria’s image and electoral integrity. This gravity of electoral offences committed during the 2007 elections led to soul-searching among the Nigerian leadership. This reflected in the public acknowledgement by President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua that the election that brought him to office was fundamentally flawed. This posture allowed for a deep reflection on Nigeria’s electoral process. Part of this reflection took place among members of the Electoral Reform Committee, a body inaugurated by the federal government to suggest measures that would improve the conduct of elections, restore electoral integrity, and strengthen the quality of democracy in Nigeria. Some of the recommendations of the Electoral Reform Committee were reviewed and included in the amended Electoral Act. Another major intervention by the federal government to restore electoral integrity in Nigeria was the appointment of a more credible leadership for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). On its part, INEC embarked on internal reforms to address the challenges of electoral integrity. The most significant step taken by INEC was the compilation of a credible voters register. These and more interventions adopted by the government and the electoral management body (INEC) culminated in the relative success that was achieved during the 2011 general elections.</p>
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			<p>http://www.placng.org/new/publications/PEV.pdf</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Nigerian election protest flops The massive protests planned by the opposition over Nigeria's disputed elections have failed to materialise. They had hoped to use the trade unions' May Day rallies to denounce what they see as election fraud but the rallies went ahead as usual.</p> <p>The police deployed across the country warning that unauthorised demonstrations would be forcibly broken up.</p> <p>A BBC correspondent in Lagos says few people seem willing to put their lives on the line for elitist politicians.</p> <p>"We don't want to use today to state any sort of grievances by anybody," one union official said.</p> <p>"That would then turn into people being molested, or all sorts - yes we may have our reservations about the elections or whatever, but today's our happy day and we don't want it to be jeopardised."</p> <p>[“ People were forced to thumb-print in front of the PDP agents and then they took the ballot and put it in the ballot box ” Emma Ezeazu, Election observer]</p> <p>Local election observers have condemned the presidential, legislative and state polls as a "charade", with results declared in areas where no voting took place. The ruling People's Democratic Party's Umaru Yar'Adua was declared the winner of the 21 April presidential election, with 70% of votes cast.</p> <p>The BBC's Alex Last says the fact that the unions were rather reluctant to have their events used for political means highlights the lack of unity amongst those who have condemned the election.</p> <p>As the elections slowly move into the distance and millions of Nigerians contend with their daily struggle for survival, it will only get harder to build the momentum to force a change, he says.</p> <p>Police crackdown</p>
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			<p>Our correspondent says the opposition has been reluctant to call for street protests because it fears they could spiral out of control.</p> <p>Opposition parties have called for the annulment of the elections.</p> <p>But the government has rejected criticism of the elections, saying it was intended to cause a coup.</p> <p>President Olusegun Obasanjo is due to hand over power on 29 May, in what should be the first transition from one civilian leader to another in Africa's most populous nation.</p> <p>Story from BBC NEWS: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/ft/-/2/hi/africa/6610387.stm Published: 2007/05/01 16:42:23 GMT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Nigeria election tribunal upholds disputed presidential poll 26 February 2008 at 2:22 PM ET by Jeannie Shawl [JURIST] Nigeria's Presidential Election Petitions Tribunal on Tuesday upheld the results of last year's disputed presidential elections [JURIST report], saying that opposition groups failed to present sufficient evidence to support their fraud allegations [JURIST report]. European Union and NGO observers questioned the results of last April's poll, and fraud allegations included multiple voting, stuffing and missing ballot boxes. The election tribunal said that opposition leaders former Nigerian Vice President Atiku Abubakar [JURIST news archive] and former army general Muhammadu Buhari [campaign website] failed to show that the fraud was extensive enough to affect the outcome of the election. Abubakar and Buhari have indicated that they will appeal Tuesday's decision to the Nigerian Supreme Court.</p> <p>In April 2007, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) [official website] declared the winner of the country's presidential elections to be the ruling People's Democratic Party candidate Umaru Yar'Adua [BBC profile], prompting petitions from Abubakar and Buhari. As part of the six-month-long challenge, the election tribunal ordered the INEC to turn over certified copies of the ballots [JURIST report] and provide information on all officials and staff employed for the elections. The presidential election was intended to mark the first civilian government transition in Africa's most populous country. AP has more. http://jurist.org/paperchase/2008/02/nigeria-election-tribunal-upholds.php</p>
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<p>Nigeria 2011</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>General Muhammandu protested the results of the elections and asked to the courts to declare null the results of the</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 16 April 2011 <i>Winner:</i> Goodluck Jonathan, People's Democratic Party (PDP)</p>

		<p>election. But the post-election violence that merged after the results of the election were announced were not initiated by the runner-up candidate. In a press statement general Muhammadu Buhari said: “To nobody’s surprise therefore, that spontaneous violence broke out in parts of the country after the announcement of the “result.””</p> <p>President Goodluck Jonathan created a commission to investigate the post-election violence and also concluded that it was an spontaneous reaction to the impunity and lack of transparency in previous elections.</p>	<p><i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Muhammadu Buhari, Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)</p> <p>-0-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA BY Dr. Nkwachukwu Orji and Nkiru Uzodi Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)</p> <p>The widely acclaimed success of the 2011 elections was dented by post-election violence that broke out following the announcement of the results of the presidential elections. The 2011 post-election violence is seen by many as the bloodiest incident of electoral violence in Nigeria’s history (Bekoe 2011, Ajayi 2011, HRW 2011, ICG 2011). In fourteen Northern States, including Adamawa, Kano, Kaduna, and Bauchi States, where the post-election violence was most prevalent, violent protesters killed several people, including an unspecified number of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members²; torched, looted or destroyed businesses, churches and [7] private houses (Shuaibu and Iroegbu 2011, HRW 2011). In the aftermath of the violence, thousands of people were displaced from their homes and places of business. [8]</p> <p>The Nigerian presidential election of 16 April 2011 was the fourth in the series of presidential elections conducted since the country’s return to civil rule in 1999. Unlike the previous elections which were characterized by fraud and flaws, the 2011 election is regarded by many observers as largely credible and well organized (EU EOM 2011). However, post-election violence, in which many people were killed, many more displaced and valuable properties were destroyed, robbed the shine off the electoral success. Although violence has been part and parcel of electoral contest in Nigeria since 1999, the 2011 post-election violence stands out in terms of its magnitude, severity and consequences¹². The 2011 post-election violence started in Bauchi and Gombe states, and quickly spread to other parts of Northern Nigeria such as Kano, Adamawa, Niger, and Kaduna states. What were the underlying causes of the violence, who participated in the violence, who/what were the targets of the attacks, what was the degree of intensity of the violence, and how did state and non-state actors respond to the violence? These are some of the issues we will deal with in this section as we try to analyze the 2011 post- election violence.[25]</p> <p>http://www.placng.org/new/publications/PEV.pdf</p>
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			<p>Thank you and God Bless Nigeria!"</p> <p>http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/04/call-your-supporters-to-order-jonathan-tells-buhari/#sthash.taPhGi6N.dpuf</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Nigeria: Post-Election Violence Killed 800 [1]</p> <p>Promptly Prosecute Offenders, Address Underlying Causes</p> <p>May 16, 2011 (Dakar) - Deadly election-related and communal violence in northern Nigeria following the April 2011 presidential voting left more than 800 people dead, Human Rights Watch said today. The victims were killed in three days of rioting in 12 northern states. Nigeria's state and federal authorities should promptly investigate and prosecute those who orchestrated and carried out these crimes and address the root causes of recurring inter-communal violence.</p> <p>The violence began with widespread protests by supporters of the main opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, a northern Muslim from the Congress for Progressive Change, following the re-election of incumbent Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian from the Niger Delta in the south, who was the candidate for the ruling People's Democratic Party. The protests degenerated into violent riots or sectarian killings in the northern states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara. Relief officials estimate that more than 65,000 people have been displaced.</p> <p>"The April elections were heralded as among the fairest in Nigeria's history, but they also were among the bloodiest," said Corinne Dufka, senior West Africa researcher at Human Rights Watch. "The newly elected authorities should quickly build on the democratic gains from the elections by bringing to justice those who orchestrated these horrific crimes and addressing the root causes of the violence."</p> <p>The presidential election divided the country along ethnic and religious lines. As election results trickled in on April 17, and it became clear that Buhari had lost, his supporters took to the streets of northern towns and cities to protest what they alleged to be the rigging of the results.</p>
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			<p>In many of the northern towns and cities, Christians found refuge in police stations and military barracks. In southern Kaduna State, Muslim women and children flocked to police stations for safety. The police successfully protected people in many cases, but they were largely ineffective at controlling the rioting and violence in other places, Human Rights Watch found. In several cases, witnesses told Human Rights Watch that it was often not until soldiers were deployed to affected areas that the violence was halted.</p> <p>Both the police and the military were implicated in the excessive use of force and other serious abuses while responding to the rioting and sectarian violence. Human Rights Watch documented eight cases of alleged unlawful killing of unarmed residents by the police and soldiers in the cities of Zaria and Kaduna, and received credible reports of more than a dozen other incidents.</p> <p>Human Rights Watch also received credible reports that the police and soldiers in Kaduna, Gombe, and Bauchi states systematically beat people rounded up during or after the riots. Many of the detainees charged at the Chief Magistrate's Court in Kaduna city had fresh scars on their backs, journalists who attended the hearing told Human Rights Watch. In the town of Azare, in northern Bauchi State, witnesses told Human Rights Watch that detainees were severely beaten by soldiers and police. One of the detainees' hands was reportedly broken, while another detainee was hospitalized as a result of the beatings.</p> <p>"The Nigerian authorities should promptly investigate these credible reports of unlawful killings and other abuses by members of the security forces," Dufka said. "The use of violence by rioters, mobs, and state actors alike needs to be stopped."</p> <p>On May 11, President Jonathan appointed a new 22-member panel to investigate the causes and extent of the election violence.</p> <p>The police spokesperson in Kaduna State told Human Rights Watch that more than 500 people have been arrested and charged following the recent post-election violence. But police and state prosecutors in the past have rarely followed through with criminal investigations and effective prosecutions.</p> <p>In the town of Kafanchan, one of the Christian leaders lamented to Human Rights Watch that past commissions of inquiry have failed to bring the culprits to book.</p>
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			<p>elections, which brought a retired general, Olusegun Obasanjo, to power, were blighted by such widespread fraud that observers from the Carter Center concluded that "it is not possible for us to make an accurate judgment about the outcome of the presidential election."</p> <p>Federal and state elections in 2003 were again marred by fraud as well as serious incidents of violence that left at least 100 people dead and many others injured. Human Rights Watch found that members and supporters of the ruling party were responsible for the majority of abuses, though opposition parties also engaged in political violence. Most deaths occurred when opposing bands of armed gangs fought each other in an effort to control an area and displace supporters of the opposing party. Human Rights Watch documented how ruling party politicians in the oil-rich Niger Delta mobilized and funded armed groups to help rig elections. That led to a sustained increase in violence and criminality in the region.</p> <p>Despite the abysmal record of the 1999 and 2003 elections, the government did not correct the problems in the next elections. Observers from the European Union described the 2007 elections, which brought Umaru Yar'Adua, a Muslim from northern Nigeria, to power, as among the worst they had witnessed anywhere in the world. Human Rights Watch estimates that at least 300 people were killed in violence linked to the 2007 elections.</p> <p>Corrupt politicians, in many cases backed by mafia-like "godfathers," openly mobilized gangs of thugs to terrorize ordinary citizens and political opponents and to stuff or steal ballot boxes. The police were often present during such incidents but frequently turned a blind eye or, at times, participated in abuses. In other locations elections simply did not take place, yet the electoral commission reported ruling-party victories with high voter turnout.</p> <p>Following Yar'Adua's death in May 2010 from natural causes, Goodluck Jonathan, his vice president, was sworn in as president. An internal zoning agreement within the ruling People's Democratic Party provides that a northerner should have held the presidency following the eight-year administration of Obasanjo, a Christian from southwest Nigeria.</p> <p>Despite opposition by some of the northern leaders, Jonathan managed to secure the ruling party's ticket in the party primary in January 2011 and went on to sweep the predominately Christian south during the April elections. His main opponent, Muhammadu Buhari, the candidate for the Congress for Progressive Change, won the majority of votes in the largely Muslim north. The election left the country deeply divided on religious and ethnic lines.</p> <p>A New Cycle of Violence</p>
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		<p>in the city. Civil society leaders said that Christian travelers were dragged out of their vehicles by mobs of Muslims and killed on the main road leading north of the city. Mobs of Christians also torched vehicles on the expressway leading through the city's southern neighborhoods, killing Muslim motorists.</p> <p>A Human Rights Watch researcher visited the town of Maraba Rido on the outskirts of the city of Kaduna. Dozens of houses and shops were razed to the ground, and the main mosque was torched, with anti-Islamic graffiti and the inscription "Jesus is Lord" inscribed on the burned-out walls of the mosque. According to one of the Muslim leaders, 28 Muslims were killed, while hundreds of others fled the area and as a result were unable to vote in the gubernatorial elections.</p> <p>A Human Rights Watch researcher returned to a polling place near the burned-out homes and mosque in Maraba Rido for the April 28 gubernatorial elections, after the violence. The posted results showed the ruling party candidate for governor, a Christian, received 441 votes, while the Muslim candidate for Buhari's Congress for Progressive Change failed to register a single vote. Similarly skewed results were found by a Human Rights Watch researcher in the town of Zonkwa where many Muslims were killed or fled.</p> <p>Men from the predominately-Christian Bajju ethnic group in the town of Zonkwa burned six of the town's mosques, as well as the homes, shops, and vehicles of Muslim residents. Witnesses said that violence began late in the afternoon of April 18 and continued throughout the night. By mid-morning on the following day, the Bajju men had killed or displaced nearly all of the town's Hausa-Fulani residents. One of the district heads acknowledged to Human Rights Watch: "The boys here made it total. They would not relent."</p> <p>According to one of the Muslim leaders in Zonkwa who participated in the burial of the victims, and showed Human Rights Watch photo documentation of the mass burial of corpses, 311 Muslims, nearly all of them men, were buried in a mass grave in Zonkwa later that week, while the remains of 24 others, many of their corpses charred beyond recognition, were buried in one of the town's wells. Christian leaders in Zonkwa told Human Rights Watch that 10 Christians had also been killed in the town and surrounding communities. No churches were destroyed.</p> <p>In the neighboring town of Kafanchan, clashes between Muslim and Christian youth continued unabated throughout the night of April 18. Christian and Muslims leaders told Human Rights Watch that by the next morning at least 20 Christians and 34 Muslims had been killed. The mobs torched hundreds of homes, shops, and vehicles, and razed to the ground the central market. Twenty-six mosques and four churches were burned or destroyed. One of the leaders from the Igbo ethnic</p>
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			<p>group, the vast majority Christians from southeastern Nigeria, told Human Rights Watch that 11 Igbo residents were killed in Kafanchan, while 224 of their houses and 837 shops, many of them in the central market, were burned.</p> <p>Failure to Break the Cycle of Violence More than 15,700 people have been killed in inter-communal, political, and sectarian violence since Nigeria returned to civilian rule in 1999. In Kaduna State, at least 2,000 people were killed in sectarian clashes in 2000 sparked by Christian protests against the proposed introduction of Sharia law in the state. Two years later, sectarian violence sparked by Muslim protests linked to the Miss World beauty contest left some 250 people dead.</p> <p>The human cost of such violence has been particularly high in neighboring Plateau State, where Human Rights Watch estimates that more than 3,800 people have been killed in inter-communal and sectarian clashes since 2001, at least 1,000 of them in 2010 alone.</p> <p>Human Rights Watch has found that state and local government policies that discriminate against members of ethnic groups classified as "non-indigenes" - those who cannot trace their ancestry to what are said to be the original inhabitants of an area - have exacerbated existing inter-communal tensions in Nigeria. These discriminatory government policies have effectively relegated millions of residents to permanent second-class status.</p> <p>Despite repeated outbreaks of inter-communal violence, federal and state government authorities, under the ruling party's control since 1999, have done little to address the root causes of the violence. The Nigerian authorities have failed to break the cycle of killings by holding accountable those responsible.</p> <p>In southern Kaduna State, a civil servant told Human Rights Watch that he recognized some of the individuals who he saw kill his neighbors. But when he went to the police to file a report, the senior police officer at the station told him that "if the police started arresting people now, it would cause more problems." Instead the police advised the man to wait until a commission of inquiry is set up to investigate the violence.</p> <p>Over the years, the federal and state governments have set up various committees and commissions of inquiry to investigate outbreaks of violence, but the reports from these bodies, and the occasional government white paper, have mostly been shelved. In the absence of accountability and effective redress, communities that have suffered violence frequently resort to vigilante justice and exact revenge by inflicting commensurate harm on members of other communities.</p>
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			<p>a group of Bajju youth came and set fire to my neighbor's house. They were large in number. Some had sticks, machetes, and catapults. I recognized one of them. I called out to him, "What is going on?" He said, "Today you will face the music." Another Bajju youth had a double barrel gun. My neighbor Yahaya pleaded with him saying, "Why are you doing this?" But he shot Yahaya at close range. He was gasping for breath and died. I ran to my house and told my family to run. I climbed a mango tree by my house. I saw the Bajju come and set fire to my house. I saw them burn my house, my car, my neighbor's house, and the neighborhood mosque.</p> <p>Around 3 a.m., after all the houses were burned, I climbed down from the tree and crawled on the ground until our burial ground. I then ran to the river about two kilometers away. I hid in the water for about an hour. When it started getting light, I crawled out of the river and climbed a nearby mountain and hid. I saw the Bajju people looking for us. I saw them kill three people by the river with machetes and an axe. I could see them but they couldn't see me....</p> <p>I later went back to my house with the police and army. One of my sons was killed, but my wives and other children survived. One of his [my son's] friends told me he saw the Bajju youth cutting him with machetes. They didn't kill women; they only killed men and boys. Some of the corpses we saw were burned. We couldn't identify them. Everything was burned to ashes, all of my documents, everything was burned to ashes. We have no other place than here. I was born in Matsirga.</p> <p>Human Rights Watch interviewed two witnesses who described how a police officer shot and killed Suliman Adamu inside a house in the Tudun Wada neighborhood of Kaduna city on the morning of April 18. A construction worker described what he saw:</p> <p>Around 8:30 p.m. on Sunday night [April 17], the day after the elections, people started burning tires [in the streets]. The police came and started shooting and we ran away. On Monday morning, around 8:30 to 9 a.m., some people started coming out and burning tires again. The police returned and pursued one of the people into Suli's [Suliman's] compound. Two policemen entered the compound. One was in mufti [civilian dress], he had a red Manchester jersey, and was wearing a helmet. The other police officer was wearing a black police uniform with a helmet. I saw one shoot his gun through the window. I heard Suliman yell. The policeman then shot again through the door. I heard the other policeman ask him why he shot him inside his house. He answered, "If I shoot him, I can't miss; I can't waste my ammunition for nothing." The policemen then left. Before we could take him to the hospital he was dead.</p> <p>Source URL: http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed-800</p>
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			<p>What happened in this year’s 2011 elections eclipsed all the other elections in the depth and scope of forgery and rigging. Initially there were high hopes that after 2003 and 2007 a semblance of electoral propriety would be witnessed. The new chairman of INEC, Professor Jega, was touted as competent and a man of integrity. He has proved neither. After asking for - and getting – close on #100 billion for the election including biometric data with all ten finger prints to conduct a thorough electoral exercise, he botched it. When our Party CPC demanded forensic material, finger printed ballot papers to prove colossal and widespread multiple voting throughout the country rendering the election invalid in at least 25 out of the 36 states of the federation, INEC refused to provide them in Court, citing national security. A laughable excuse if ever there was one. The national and international monitors having seen their work wasted and ignored this time took the line of least resistance and declared the elections as o.k. Who can blame them? Yet the Justices of the Supreme Court have now seen nothing wrong in this.</p> <p>To nobody’s surprise therefore, that spontaneous violence broke out in parts of the country after the announcement of the “result”. The Lemu Panel has come up with detailed causes of the riots and given lie to those who wanted to label the riots as my handiwork. The facts are that people were deeply angered and deeply provoked at the wanton conduct of the elections: the snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes, violence unleashed on opposition supporters, use of the police and elements of the army to intimidate injure and kill opposition supporters and flagrant change of results after collation such as in Niger, Bauchi and Kaduna states. Moreover the declaration of 86% - 90% of votes registered and cast in most part of the South-East and South-South states was highly implausible given the general turn-out of 50% - 60% in the rest of the country. No election is credible where 100% of votes cast were for one candidate in many constituencies and 90% in some states. This is plain fraud. No election can be validated if 100% of those registered all cast their votes in favour of the same candidate. It is for these reasons INEC refused to release the biometric data. The Supreme Court has turned a blind eye and deaf ear to these gross irregularities. That is the theme running through all three elections since 2003.</p> <p>The country now has to live with the consequences of the actions of PDP government in collaboration with INEC, police and security services over the last 10 years. A country on the brink of developing into the major continental Power in 1999 is now a fractured society, corruption everywhere, violence everywhere, a sense of helplessness and hopelessness nearly everywhere. While the country is sliding into this chaotic state, PDP governments at the centre and in the states are engaged in massive and mindless plunder of the country’s resources in total disregard of the suffering masses.</p>
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Panama 1989-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Panama 1989	1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1	<p>The panamenian elections of 1984 had left feelings of inconformity and discontent.</p> <p>In 1989 occasion, the opposition parties agreed to form an alliance in order to defeat the military forces. The civil opposition candidate won the election.</p> <p>Nevertheless, the retiring military president destroyed the ballots, cancelled the results of the election and imposed one of his allies as provisional president.</p> <p>A couple months later, military forces of the United States invaded Panamá to remove the military government.</p>	<p>Election date: 07/05/1989 Winner: Guillermo Endara, Alianza Democrática de Oposición Civilista (ADO) Runner-up candidate: Carlos Duque (COLINA)</p> <p>PANAMA, 1989 The elections were annulled on 10 May 1989, before all the votes could be counted, in order to avoid the defeat of the government’s candidate. On 26 December 1989, the annulment was declared invalid. The result corresponds to a new official counting based on 83.1% of the total polls.</p> <p>FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS: The 1989 elections were annulled on 10 May, before all the votes could be counted. Seats were not allocated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>MÓDULO DE EDUCACIÓN CÍVICA ELECTORAL No. 3 EVOLUCIÓN DE LA DEMOCRACIA EN PANAMÁ</p> <p>2.3 Elecciones de 1989:</p> <p>En medio de la solicitud del pueblo de restaurar las garantías constitucionales suspendidas, establecer la genuina autonomía de las autoridades civiles, el respeto a los derechos humanos y lograr el establecimiento de la democracia auténtica en la República de Panamá, y en medio de una de las más agudas crisis política, económica y social que ha vivido la República; se realizan las elecciones de 1989.</p> <p>Participaron dos coaliciones C.O.LI.N.A. (Coalición de Liberación Nacional), integrada por los partidos políticos: Liberal Republicano, Laborista Agrario, Del Pueblo, Panameñista, Revolucionario Democrático, Democrático de los Trabajadores y Acción Nacionalista; postularon como candidato a la presidencia al Licenciado Carlos Duque Jaén.</p>

			<p>La Alianza Democrática de Oposición Civilista quedó integrada por los partidos: Liberalismo Auténtico, Movimiento Liberal Republicano Nacional, Demócrata Cristiano y su candidato fue el Licenciado Guillermo Endara Galimany.</p> <p>El resultado de las elecciones no fue dado a conocer, debido a que, luego de cerrado el desarrollo de la votación, los centros de votación fueron atacados violentamente y se perdieron las actas de mesa, por lo que las juntas escrutadoras no pudieron hacer su proclamación.</p> <p>Ante esta situación, el Tribunal Electoral anula las elecciones y no fija nueva fecha para la realización de las mismas.</p> <p>La cúpula militar instaura un régimen de facto, encabezado por el Ingeniero Francisco Rodríguez; de esa misma forma se designa representantes de corregimientos. Esta situación se mantuvo hasta el 20 de diciembre de 1989 cuando el país es invadido por el ejército de los Estados Unidos.</p> <p>El 27 de diciembre de 1989, el Tribunal Electoral deroga el decreto que anulaba las elecciones, recupera la mayoría de las actas y en consecuencia proclama al Licenciado Guillermo Endara como Presidente Constitucional, a los miembros del Órgano Legislativo y los representantes de corregimientos.</p> <p>http://www.tribunal-electoral.gob.pa/html/fileadmin/user_upload/administracion/capacitacion/modulo-03.doc Accesado: 20 de enero de 2014.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>“The Noriega government, on the other hand, chose Carlos Duque to run as candidate for the Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD), the official government party. When the elections were finally held in May 1989, not only was Duque defeated, but the anti-Noriega forces had won by a margin of more than 2-to-1. In frustration, Noriega cancelled the results of the election and destroyed all the official ballots. In September 1989, General Noriega appointed his Comptroller-General, Francisco Rodriguez, to serve as Provisional President, in which capacity the latter was able to continue the authoritarian practices of the regime. It should be noted that Rodriguez’s name had not appeared on the ballot in May, nor had he ever been considered as a candidate by the electorate or anyone else - except, apparently, Noriega.”</p> <p>Source: Furlong, William. “The difficult transition towards democracy”. Journal of Interamerican studies and World Affairs.</p>
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			<p>http://www.jstor.org/stable/165968</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Churches in Panama Become Rallying Sites for Opposition The New York Times, May 15, 1989. “Four days after opposition leaders were beaten by paramilitary toughs, Panamanians flocked to churches today to cheer opposition figures and applaud a statement by the nation's Roman Catholic bishops denouncing the violence. The violence broke out last week after the regime of General Manuel Antonio Noriega nullified the results of last Sunday's presidential election, which independent observers say was won by the opposition. The military kept a low profile today, with many soldiers reported on furlough, and there was no violence reported in Panama City. But church officials noted that they had received no reports from outlying areas, where serious clashes have been reported between Government forces and demonstrators. Statement Heard in Full” http://www.nytimes.com/1989/05/15/world/churches-in-panama-become-rallying-sites-for-opposition.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Panamá: Historia de una crisis Publicado por Belisario Rodríguez Garibaldo el 24 Agosto 2011 en Sociopolítica</p> <p>Las elecciones de mayo de 1989 son aun mas controvertidas y violentas que las anteriores, con duros enfrentamientos entre gobiernistas y opositores, que son reprimidos por las fuerzas de orden publico. Los candidatos presidenciales principales son Carlos Duque por el PRD con la alianza COLINA, y el panameñista Guillermo Endara por la ADO. Al finalizar los sufragios el PRD se proclama triunfador y la ADO se proclama ganadora, pero el Tribunal Electoral declara ‘anulada las elecciones por irregularidades electorales, violencia política e injerencia extranjera en el financiamiento diez millones de dólares del gobierno norteamericano a la campaña electoral de la ADO’. La ADO anuncia fraude electoral y convoca a protestas. http://www.ellibrepensador.com/2011/08/24/panama-historia-de-una-crisis/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Fighting in Panama: A new Government; The 3 Panamanians Who'll Lead Where Noriega Held Sway</p>
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			<p>The New York Times, December 21, 1989.</p> <p>“Guillermo Endara, a 54-year-old lawyer who was sworn in yesterday as the new President of Panama, was virtually unknown in Panamanian politics until last year, when he emerged as the compromise candidate of a three-party anti-Noriega group called the Civilian Democratic Opposition Alliance.</p> <p>Like other members of the opposition, Mr. Endara, representing the Authentic Liberal Party, was resolutely anti-Noriega. But he was equally opposed to American military action.</p> <p>"We are not in accord with military intervention by any country," Mr. Endara said last spring, soon after General Noriega nullified the results of the presidential election. "It will cause more problems than it solves." Mr. Endara, a widower known for his amiable manner and ample girth, is believed by many to have defeated the pro-Noriega candidate, Carlos Duque, by a margin of 3 to 1.</p> <p>Three days after the May 7 election, Mr. Endara and his two vice-presidential running mates were beaten by paramilitary thugs as they led an opposition motorcade through Panama City. Mr. Endara was hospitalized for a week with head injuries.</p> <p>Over the summer, with public opposition to General Noriega at a low ebb, Mr. Endara sought to step up the economic pressure by urging Panamanians to delay paying taxes and utility bills, and to boycott the state-controlled lottery and casinos.</p> <p>Discouraged by the response, Mr. Endara began a two-week hunger strike on Sept. 20, announcing that it was in protest of the National Assembly's appointment of Francisco A. Rodriguez as president. Lying on a hospital bed in the window of a downtown office building, Mr. Endara is believed to have shed at least 30 of his 265 pounds - and stirred many jokes in the process.</p> <p>Two weeks later, on Oct. 5, hours after the second abortive military coup against General Noriega in two years, armed men ransacked opposition-party headquarters and Mr. Endara fled into hiding, where he remained until yesterday's strike”</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/21/world/fighting-panama-new-government-3-panamanians-who-ll-lead-where-noriega-held-sway.html</p> <p>**Nota: no estaba segura como codificar esto. Hubo protestas, pero de parte del candidato que fue declarado ganador (cuando el ejército decidió destruir las boletas). Tampoco me queda claro cómo codificar lo que hizo el presidente que salía.</p>
<p>Panama 1994</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Although, she remained in silence for a few days, Mireya Moscoso (the runner up candidate in the presidential election of 1994) recognized the victory of Ernesto Pérez Balladares.</p>	<p>Election date: 08/05/1994 Winner: Ernesto Pérez Balladares Runner-up candidate: Mireya Moscoso</p> <p>Panamanians Peacefully Elect Millionaire Businessman</p>

		<p>The candidate also stated she will reject a job offer in the new government because she wanted to be part of a constructive opposition.</p>	<p>The associated press. May, 9, 1994. Five years after dictator Manuel Noriega annulled a violent national vote marred by fraud, Panamanians on Monday celebrated the peaceful election of their new president. The winner, millionaire businessman Ernesto Perez Balladares, had managed the campaign of Noriega's hand-picked candidate in 1989, but he has distanced himself from the ousted leader in this election.</p> <p>Many credited President Guillermo Endara, whose party came in second, with ensuring Sunday's election was fair and peaceful. The independent Electoral Tribunal said no violence was reported and there were only two arrests nationwide for electoral law violations.</p> <p>The smooth election "opens a new chapter in Panama and strengthens democratic life and consciousness in the country," said Msgr. Osvaldo Padilla, the Vatican's representative in Panama. With about 90 percent of the ballots counted Monday, Perez Balladares, 47, was the clear winner with about a third of the vote, the independent Electoral Tribunal said. Under Panamanian law, a majority is not required for victory.</p> <p>It was the first time Panamanians had voted for a president since the 1989 election, which Noriega annulled when it became obvious that his candidate, Carlos Duque, would lose to Endara. Noriega's thugs beat Endara and his two vice presidential candidates in the streets of Panama City that election day. Endara, who was limited by law to a single 5-year term, was sworn in as president on a U.S. military base during the American invasion that toppled Noriega seven months later. During the campaign, Perez Balladares stressed his ties to Gen. Omar Torrijos, a late populist dictator who remains a hero among the poor for his far-reaching social programs. But he also opposed a return of military influence on the government.</p> <p>After claiming victory with just over 50 percent of the vote counted Sunday night, Perez Balladares said that in his government "there will not be military men nor the possibility of returning to the past era of militarism."</p> <p>The army was disbanded after Noriega was taken to Miami for prosecution on drug trafficking charges and it was replaced with a national police force.</p> <p>Perez Balladares' victory in a field of seven was recognized by all of his opponents by Monday afternoon.</p> <p>Among the last to concede was the No. 2 finisher, Mireya Moscoso, widow of Arnulfo Arias Madrid, a popular president elected three times and thrown out every time by coups. As the candidate of the governing Arnulfista Party, she had 28 percent of the vote.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18834323803&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18834323807&cisb=22_T18834323806&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=304478&docNo=14</p>
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			<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Panama: reconciliation effort suffers first setback IPS-Inter Press Service. May 12, 1994.</p> <p>Panamanian President-elect Ernesto Perez Balladares suffered a setback in his attempt to build a coalition government today, after the ruling Arnulfista Party refused to participate in the new administration.</p> <p>Perez Balladares of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) offered the Arnulfista Party two of the 12 ministerial posts in his administration, which takes power on Sept. 1. A similar offer was made to the Solidarity Party, which accepted the posts, and to the dissident Christian Democrat Party (PDC), which has not yet made a decision.</p> <p>Arnulfista candidate Mireya Moscoso, who took second place in the elections with 45,000 fewer votes than Perez Balladares, said she would rather belong to a "clear, constructive and patriotic opposition," than become part of a PRD administration.</p> <p>Founded by the late General Omar Torrijos, the PRD was violently overthrown on Dec. 20, 1989 during the U.S. invasion of Panama that unseated Torrijos' successor General Manuel Noriega. Moscoso said her party would provide "content and solidity for the authentic democracy that patriotic citizens struggled for (during the Noriega regime) and of which the Arnulfistas are the most legitimate custodians."</p> <p>Despite Moscoso's rejection of the offer, Arnulfista Party director Bolivar Pariente, who was elected as a deputy in the May 8 elections, said reconciliation is still possible in the Parliament.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18843085535&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18843085539&cisb=22_T18843085538&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=8001&docNo=2</p>
Panama 1999	<p>1 = 0</p> <p>2 = 0</p> <p>3 = 0</p>	<p>In the electoral process of 1999, Panamanians picked, for the first time, a woman to be their next president. Mireya Moscoso won the presidential race with almost 45% of the vote. Martin Torrijos, son of a former panamenian dictator and the runner up</p>	<p>Election date: 02/05/1999 Winner: Mireya Moscoso Runner-up candidate: Martin Torrijos</p> <p>The Widow of Ex-Leader Wins Race in Panama 3 de mayo de 1999. The New York Times</p>

		<p>candidate, publicly congratulated the elected president.</p>	<p>“Mireya Moscoso, the widow of a Panamanian President who stepped out on her own politically to become the main opposition leader here, narrowly defeated her main opponent tonight, electing her the country's first woman President. With just 55 percent of the vote counted, official tallies showed Ms. Moscoso, 52, with 43 percent. Martin Torrijos, the 35-year-old son of the late Panamanian strongman, Gen. Omar Torrijos, followed with 38 percent. Alberto Vallarino, 47, of a third political alliance, trailed with 17 percent. He conceded defeat shortly after 8 P.M. and wished Ms. Moscoso "success in leading this country in one of the periods of major challenges but also of major opportunities in our history." About an hour later, Mr. Torrijos publicly congratulated the winner and announced to his supporters that he would seek to become secretary general of the Revolutionary Democratic Party, reorganize the party and prepare to run again in the 2004 elections "for the benefit of the motherland." "You can be sure that we have a future and that time does not stop at this moment," he said to wild cheers. (...)"</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1999/05/03/world/the-widow-of-ex-leader-wins-race-in-panama.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Moscoso wins Panama election 3 de mayo de 1999. The Gazette</p> <p>“Mireya Moscoso, the widow of a popular leader, won elections yesterday to become the president who will lead Panama when the United States cedes control of the Panama Canal at the end of the year. She beat Martin Torrijos, the son of military strongman General Omar Torrijos, who had helped depose Moscoso's husband, Arnulfo Arias, from the presidency and went on to sign the 1977 Canal Treaties with the United States. Torrijos conceded defeat with 59.4 per cent of ballots counted, showing Moscoso with 44 per cent of the vote to his 38 per cent. Her lead grew as new results came in. A third candidate, banker Alberto Vallarino, who bolted Moscoso's party after losing the nomination to her, held 17 per cent of the vote. "It is clear Mireya Moscoso has been chosen as president," Torrijos said. "I congratulate her and wish her success in running the country." Moscoso's supporters drove through Panama City's streets, honking and waving her party's yellow, red and purple flags.</p>
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Panama 2004	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Martin Torrijos, the son of a former panamenian dictator, won the presidential race that was held on may of 2004. Torrijos got almost 50% of the panameñan vote, the runner-up candidate, Guillermo Endara, quickly conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election date: 02/05/2004 Winner: Martin Torrijos Runner-up candidate: Guillermo Endara</p> <p>Torrijos coasts to Panama win: Son of late military dictator. New president to focus on tax and spending reform, negotiating a free trade agreement 3 de mayo de 2004. The Gazette.</p> <p>Martin Torrijos, the son of a former dictator, won the country's first presidential vote since the handover of the Panama Canal and withdrawal of U.S. troops in December 1999. Ex-president Guillermo Endara, his main rival, conceded defeat last night to Torrijos, whose father, General Omar Torrijos, ruled Panama from 1968 until his death in 1981.</p> <p>During the campaign, the candidates - both heavily linked to Panama's troubled history - had vowed not to revive its authoritarian past. Still, Torrijos said in his victory speech: "If my father were here, he would be proud of what we accomplished today.</p> <p>"I invite everyone to join in a new social pact against poverty, corruption and despair," he continued. "It will be a social pact of solidarity, social justice, opportunity and prosperity."</p> <p>Campaign officials said the U.S.-educated Torrijos would focus on tax and spending reform, negotiating a free trade agreement with the United States and improving the canal.</p> <p>With 40 per cent of the vote counted, Torrijos had about 47 per cent of balloting and Endara about 30 per cent. In conceding defeat, Endara said: "I am happy, because our democracy emerged from this untouched."</p> <p>Third-place candidate Jose Aleman, of President Mireya Moscoso's ruling Arnulfista party, conceded defeat after drawing about 19 per cent, saying, "The people have spoken loudly and clearly, and Martin Torrijos is the president of all Panamanians."</p>

			<p>Corruption, poverty and unemployment were the major issues in the race for president and the 78-seat congress in this country of 2.8 million. Voter turnout was nearly 80 per cent. After disavowing his father's authoritarian style, Torrijos paid a visit to his father's crypt before voting yesterday. Later, he said: "I hope that people vote thinking of the future, about their families and the needs of the country."</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18554950977&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=26&resultsUrlKey=29_T18554950982&cisb=22_T18554950981&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=397229&docNo=31</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Son of late dictator is elected the next president of Panama 3 de mayo de 2004. The New York Times.</p> <p>More than 14 years after the end of authoritarian rule, voters here elected the son of a former military dictator on Sunday as Panama's next president. "Martín Torrijos, 40, is the heir of a political party that was built by military strongmen, including his father, Gen. Omar Torrijos, a populist dictator who ruled the country from 1968 to until his death in 1981; and Manuel Antonio Noriega, whose violent government was overthrown by American troops at the end of 1989. Mr. Torrijos, who was educated in the United States, campaigned skillfully as both a reverent son, and the leader of a new generation of Panamanian politicians. In urban ghettos and among rural peasants, he embraced the memories of his father as a champion of the poor and the visionary who negotiated the treaty by which the United States gave this country control of the Panama Canal. Mr. Torrijos, who will replace President Mireya Moscoso, vowed to keep up the fight against the corruption and unequal distribution of wealth that has plagued Panama through most of its 100-year history. At the same time, however, he distanced himself from his party's past misdeeds, vowing to uphold democracy, protect human rights and defend freedom of express 'I hope that people vote thinking of the future, about their families and the needs of the country,' Mr. Torrijos said after visiting his father's crypt, and then casting his ballot on Sunday morning. Mr. Torrijos's closest rival in the balloting, former President Guillermo Endara, conceded defeat late Sunday night. With some 40 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Torrijos held about 47 percent of the balloting, with Mr. Endara holding about 30 percent. (...)"</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/03/world/son-of-late-dictator-is-elected-the-next-president-of-panama.html</p>
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<p>Panama 2009</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>On May of 2009, presidential elections were held in Panama. The right wing party won the presidency with 60% of the vote. The runner-up candidate, Balbina Herrera, recognized her defeat and stated she would become the opposition leader.</p>	<p>Election date: 03/05/2009 Winner: Ricardo Martinelli Runner-up candidate: Balbina Herrera</p> <p>La derecha gana las presidenciales panameñas 4 de noviembre de 2009. El país. “La autoridad electoral panameña ha comunicado esta madrugada (hora española) al candidato derechista Ricardo Martinelli su victoria en las elecciones presidenciales que durante este domingo se han celebrado en el país. Con el 43% del voto escrutado y mediante una llamada telefónica que fue transmitida por televisión, el Tribunal Electoral comunicó a Martinelli, líder de Alianza por el Cambio (AC), que él era "el ganador indiscutible de esta contienda". "Le doy las gracias al pueblo panameño y le aseguro que haré un Gobierno de unidad nacional", ha asegurado Martinelli durante la conversación telefónica con el magistrado electoral. Martinelli aventaja, según los datos oficiales, en más de un 20% a la aspirante oficialista, Balbina Herrera. El multimillonario derechista, que ya partía como claro favorito en las encuestas, conseguiría, a tenor de los últimos resultados, el 60% de los apoyos frente al 36% logrado por Herrera. El ex presidente Guillermo Endara, por su parte, no pasaría del 2,5%. Se confirma así lo que las encuestas habían vaticinado: que Martinelli lograría desbancar del poder a los socialdemócratas de Martín Torrijos. Y eso, a pesar de la innegable popularidad del presidente Torrijos, cuya gestión, marcada por los trabajos de ampliación del canal y por el auge económico, cuenta con el respaldo del 54% de los panameños. "Los locos somos más" "Panamá no merece estar dónde está", ha afirmado Martinelli, que se declaró "sumamente honrado" del amplio respaldo recibido en los comicios y, en alusión a uno de sus lemas electorales, ha defendido que entre la ciudadanía panameña son mayoría "los locos por querer cambiar este país" y los que pretenden "que haya más seguridad, que haya más empleo, un metro, más trabajo y más equidad". "Este triunfo no es mío, es de todo el pueblo panameño", ha subrayado, antes de hacer un llamamiento a todos sus adversarios políticos "para que ayuden a cambiar este país". Tres factores parecen explicar el viraje en el voto. Por un lado, el descontento provocado por la subida de los precios y por una criminalidad rampante -pese al crecimiento medio anual del 8,7%, Panamá arrastra aún un índice de pobreza del 28% y profundas desigualdades-. Por otro, la vibrante campaña de Martinelli, que ha sabido conectar con las inquietudes sociales. Y, por último, el rechazo que genera Balbina Herrera, de 54 años, veterana política, ex alcaldesa de la capital y ex ministra de Vivienda, lastrada por sus vínculos con el ex dictador Manuel Antonio Noriega, hoy preso en Estados Unidos. La candidata presidencial oficialista, tras admitir su derrota en las urnas, se autoproclamó esta madrugada "líder de la oposición" y en una comparecencia ante sus seguidores en la que Herrera</p>
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			Indicó que propondrá cambios a las leyes electorales porque 'no podemos seguir comprando la presidencia de la República' en referencia a los millones gastados por Martinelli en la campaña electoral. http://www.adnradio.cl/noticia/reconoce-candidata-oficialista-derrota-ante-martinelli-en-panama/20090503/nota/805466.aspx
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Paraguay 1989-2008

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Paraguay 1989	1=0 2=0 3=0	In 1989, the leader of the coup that ended with the 34 year dictatorship in Paraguay was elected president. Almost all of the opposition candidates denounced irregularities and initially refused to recognize the election result. The international observers stated there had been irregularities but that those would not change the election outcome. According to the NYT, most of the five opposition presidential candidates conceded defeat	Election day: 1 de mayo de 1989 Winner: Andrés Rodríguez (ARN-PC) Runner up candidate: Domingo Laino (PLRA) -0- Stroessner's control of the Partido Colorado had been unchallengec from the late 1950s to the early 1980s, but the Partido Colorado gradually began to split into two factions. The tradicionalistas were willing to consider opening up the political field, whereas the militantes began to speak openly of Stroessner's son Gustavo as a possible successor for his father. In February 1989, a coup d'etat, led by General Andres Rodriguez, overthrew Stroessner. The circumstances that prompted this coup were the increasing democratic tendencies in the region, the economic crisis, and the internal disputes regarding Stroessner's successor. In May 1989, Rodriguez was elected president. For the first time in many years, the democratic opposition was allowed to participate in national elections. This marked the beginning of the transition to democracy, a period characterized by continuing military influence. Leon-Roesch, Marta and Richard Ortiz Ortiz. 2005. "Paraguay." In Nohlen, Dieter (ed.) <i>Elections in the Americas. A Data Handbook</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 411-444. -0-

			<p>Rodriguez Claims Victory, Opponents Denounce Irregularities The Associated Press. May 2, 1989.</p> <p>“Gen. Andres Rodriguez, who ousted strongman Alfredo Stroessner three months ago, was elected president by an overwhelming margin and his party kept control of congress, unofficial returns showed today.</p> <p>The leaders and presidential candidates of four opposition parties charged the voting was fraudulent. Foreign observers and diplomats agreed there were irregularities, but said the balloting was reasonably fair and that victory clearly belonged to Rodriguez, who had been Stroessner's No. 2 man.</p> <p>"We promise our people that we will carry Paraguay on a bright path to its destiny of greatness and happiness," a grinning Rodriguez said in a champagne toast to party members late Monday at his chateau-style mansion.</p> <p>His Colorado Party has ruled this landlocked country of 4 million people since 1947. Domingo Laino, the presidential candidate of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party and a former exile, finished second.</p> <p>Only one of the four opposition candidates conceded defeat.</p> <p>"In spite of the irregularities, I recognize that he won and that it was a landslide victory," said Fernando Vera of the Revolutionary Febrerista Party who finished fourth.</p> <p>By midmorning, official returns showed Rodriguez with 131,075, or 75.24 percent, of the 174,201 votes for president; and the party with 114,247 or 66.21 percent, of the 172,560 votes for congress. The Colorados said their unofficial count showed Rodriguez with 778,479, or 74.26 percent, of 1,048,299 votes for president; and the party received 741,583, or 73.6 percent, of 1,007,548 votes cast for congress.</p> <p>Tallies by the Christian Democratic Party and a coalition of sociological research firms had lower totals, but also showed one-sided counts in favor of Rodriguez and the Colorados.</p> <p>Rodriguez, 65, deposed Stroessner in a coup on Feb. 3 and sent him into exile in Brazil, promising broadened civil liberties and pledging to move the country toward democracy.</p> <p>Stroessner, who seized power in a 1954 coup, had arranged to be elected every five years through patronage and intimidation.</p> <p>The voting Monday was to replace Stroessner and the 36-member senate and 72-seat chamber of deputies that were to have served through August 1993.</p> <p>By law the Colorados, as the winning party in the congressional elections, would receive 24 of the 36 Senate seats and 48 of the 72 seats in the Chamber of deputies.</p> <p>The partial Colorado vote count represented about 45 percent of the 2.2 million people on official voter registration lists. The opposition had claimed the list was dated and bloated, and even the Central Electoral Board said it might contain as many as 600,000 duplicate or fake names.</p>
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			<p>"From the first moment of voting, serious difficulties and grave fraud occurred, which offend our civic culture and test our tolerance to the limit," said Laino."</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18856060722&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18856060726&cisb=22_T18856060725&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=304478&docNo=23</p> <p>Official results confirm Rodríguez Victory May 5, 1989. The Associated Press. The official count confirmed Thursday that Gen. Andres Rodriguez, who led the coup that toppled Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, won the presidential election this week with nearly 75 percent of the vote. Central Electoral Board results from all but 744 of 10,970 voting booths showed Rodriguez received 851,190 votes, or 74.3 percent. His closest rival for the presidency, Domingo Laino, received 232,421, or 20.3 percent. The tallies coincide with unofficial results disclosed hours after polls closed Monday. Rodriguez, an aide of Stroessner, drove him from power on Feb. 3 after nearly 35 years of dictatorship. Laino, president of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, still complained about irregularities in the balloting and said his party would decide Friday whether to accept its 10 seats in the Senate and 19 in the Chamber of Deputies. "There are some very suspicious maneuvers and we are very concerned," Laino said. Political observers called Laino's actions a political maneuver to fend off opposition within his own party, where a faction that wanted to boycott the vote has dubbed him the "marshal of defeat." Irregularities abounded, but losing candidates and international monitors said the results seemed accurate</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/Inacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18856060722&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18856060726&cisb=22_T18856060725&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=304478&docNo=1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>PARAGUAY GENERAL WINS CONCLUSIVELY By JAMES BROOKE, Special to The New York Times Published: May 03, 1989</p>
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			<p>"Many irregularities" flawed Paraguay's presidential elections, but fraud was not widespread enough to change the outcome, a group of international observers concluded today.</p> <p>Noting Paraguay's "lack of democratic traditions," the observers said the three-month period since the overthrow of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner in February "simply could not provide the preconditions necessary for fair elections."</p> <p>Gen. Andres Rodriguez, who was overwhelmingly elected President on Monday, had welcomed the 19 observers, who were sponsored by the United States-financed National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.</p> <p>In contrast, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama has made it clear that he will not welcome a similar group sponsored by the institute that is to attend Panama's presidential elections on Sunday.</p> <p>Opponents Concede Defeat</p> <p>After an election day without violence, life in this capital returned to normal today. Most of the five opposition presidential candidates conceded defeat and said they planned to work in Congress to build democracy in this landlocked nation long ruled by dictators.</p> <p>"Whoever thought that the electoral process would unfold normally was not living in our country," said Carlos Gustavo Callizo, a congressional candidate of the opposition Humanist Party. "The irregularities show that we have to keep working to strengthen the democratic system."</p> <p>In what appeared to be an endorsement of General Rodriguez's vow to make Paraguay a democracy, partial election returns showed that he is more popular than his party, the Colorado. According to these returns, General Rodriguez won 74 percent of the vote while his congressional ticket lagged behind with 68 percent. Domingo Laino, the runner-up for President, received 19 percent.</p> <p>The Feb. 3 coup and 90-day campaign saw a remarkable metamorphosis of the remote commander of Paraguay's armed forces into a jolly figure who kissed babies, met with dissident church leaders and waded virtually unprotected through crowds of market women, promising to build day-care centers. "Rodriguez likes to be liked," an American diplomat here said. 'Level Playing Field' Promised</p> <p>Looking to Paraguay's political future, General Rodriguez has promised to create "a level playing field" by separating the Colorado Party from military and civil service. Currently, all officers and Government employees are required to join the party.</p>
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			<p>"What worries me is that we are seeing the creation of the Paraguayan PRI," Humberto Rubin, the owner of an independent radio station, said, referring to the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico, which has dominated that country's politics for most of this century.</p> <p>"There will be political freedom, but every five years the Colorados will name a successor, and the results will continue to be 7 to 3 for a long time," Mr. Rubin predicted. His radio station, closed by General Stroessner, returned to the air after the coup.</p> <p>Other Paraguayans say they feel that the general will find it hard to keep his promise to give up power to an elected civilian successor in 1993.</p> <p>"I am afraid that a group of mafiosi and delinquents will form around Rodriguez the way they did around Stroessner," said Aldo Zuccolillo, editor and publisher of ABC Color, a newspaper that resumed publication in March, five years after General Stroessner closed it. http://www.nytimes.com/1989/05/03/world/paraguay-general-wins-conclusively.html</p>
<p>Paraguay 1993</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>Although, Domingo Laino, the runner up candidate, stated the conditions were not equal for all candidates, he did not attempt to change the electoral outcome. Laino, autoproclaimed himself the winner of the election. But when Mr Laino and Mr Caballero conceded defeat, their followers melted away.</p>	<p>Election day: 9 de mayo de 1993 Winner: Juan Carlos Wasmosy Monti Runner up candidate: Domingo Laino</p> <p>Governing party wins Paraguay Presidential Vote The New York Times. May 11, 1993. In the interview, Mr. Wasmosy said he would reduce Paraguay's isolation by backing a project to connect the heart of South America with South Atlantic ports through an international waterway based on the Paraguay River. An advocate of free-market growth and low tariffs, Mr. Wasmosy said he backed Paraguay's taking part in a regional common market, Mercosur. He described possible participation in the late 1990's in a free-trade pact with the United States as "a wonderful dream." Mr. Wasmosy had trailed in most pre-election polls. His victory left many opposition politicians bitter. "If conditions had been equal, we would have won," said Mr. Laino, who won about 32 percent of the vote, according to a projection of an unofficial tally of 69 percent of the vote. Mr. Laino asserted that Liberal Party slates had been handicapped when soldiers closed land bridges to prevent Paraguayans from coming home from Brazil and Argentina to vote. Another major candidate, Guillermo Caballero Vargas of the National Encounter movement, finished in third place with 27 percent.</p>

			<p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18856180163&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18856180167&cisb=22_T18856180166&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=6742&docNo=8</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>40 A B C INTERNACIONAL- Iberoamérica LUNES 10- 5- 93 Paraguay Colorados y Liberales se proclaman vencedores tras el primer recuento Resultados ajustadísimos en las elecciones presidenciales Asunción. José Olmo y Losada, enviado especial</p> <p>Los tres candidatos que aspiran a ganar las primeras erecciones presidenciales realmente democráticas en Paraguay alcanzaban ayer, al cierre de esta edición, una apretada votación. El oficialista Juan Carlos Wasmosy, de la Asociación Nacional Republicana (Partido Colorado) y Domingo Laino, del Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico (PLRA) se proclamaron vencedores, basándose en los resultados divergentes de los dos sondeos realizados.</p> <p>El recuento de la Cadena Nacional Electoral, en la que participan Radio Ñandutí el diario ABC Color y el Canal 9 de Televisión, atribuía a Wasmosy el 31 por ciento de los votos, a Guillermo Caballero Vargas, de la alianza socialdemócrata Encuentro Nacional (EN), el 29,2 por ciento, y a Domingo Láino, del PLRA, el 28,2 por ciento. Sin embargo, la Red Privada de Comunicación adjudicaba la Victoria a Domingo Láino, con el 34,99 por ciento, seguido de Wasmosy con el 33,95 por ciento y Guillermo Caballero, con el 29.89 por ciento.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1993/05/10/040.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Ruling party win reassures Paraguay army: Despite a split before the elections, the Colorados were able to muster enough support to see off their challengers COLIN HARDING Wednesday 12 May 1993</p> <p>GENERAL Lino Oviedo did not need to take his tanks out on to the streets of Asuncion after all. Paraguay's ruling Colorado party, though not quite the force it was, still managed to mobilise enough votes to see off two challengers in Sunday's presidential election. The Asuncion garrison commander's prediction that the army and Colorados would rule Paraguay 'forever' may yet turn out to be true.</p>
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			<p>Juan Carlos Wasmosy, the winning candidate with just over 40 per cent of the 1.2 million votes cast, immediately announced that General Alfredo Stroessner, who used the Colorado machine to keep himself in the presidential palace for 35 years, would be allowed to return from exile in Brazil. That is only fitting. Mr Wasmosy, 55, a businessman, owes him a lot: he made a large part of his fortune from government construction contracts during the Stroessner years.</p> <p>The old autocrat was bundled out of the country in 1989 by Gen Oviedo and the current President, General Andres Rodriguez, who will place the tricolor sash over Mr Wasmosy's shoulders on 15 August to inaugurate the country's first civilian president for 50 years.</p> <p>In the end, the Colorados' ability to mobilise the rural vote seems to have been decisive. That is the way it has been since the 1940s, and Gen Stroessner tuned the party machinery to such a pitch that nothing moved in Paraguay's Guarani-speaking countryside without the local political boss's permission. Things have begun to change, but not enough to make the difference for the opposition candidate, Guillermo Caballero Vargas, another millionaire businessman. He won almost half the votes in the capital but came nowhere outside the city.</p> <p>Mr Caballero had been leading in the opinion polls until the last moment, but in the event he was beaten into third place by Domingo Laino, veteran leader of the social democratic Authentic Radical Liberal Party, who won an impressive 33 per cent of the votes to Mr Caballero's 23 per cent.</p> <p>The Colorados split before the election, and at one stage the embittered losing candidate in party primaries, Luis Maria Argana, urged his followers not to vote for Mr Wasmosy, Gen Rodriguez's personal choice. But the party's instinct for self-preservation seems to have overcome such petty rancour in the end. Mr Argana is even more favourably disposed to Gen Stroessner than the President-elect, having served under him as president of the Supreme Court for a number of years.</p> <p>Despite the Colorado victory, it will not just be business as usual in Paraguay. The corruption and patronage apparatus constructed during the Stroessner decades no longer controls all aspects of an economy that is being opened up to free trade and competition. Mr Caballero's impressive performance in Asuncion is a measure of the influence of the new business class that he represents. His textile factories are big exporters to neighbouring Argentina and Brazil, Paraguay's partners in a common market that should be up and running by 1995. This development is also bad news for the smuggling rackets that were long the main source of income for Gen Stroessner's military and business backers.</p>
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<p>Paraguay 1998</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>Once again, Domingo Lanio was the runner up candidate in the presidential election and challenged electoral results. Nevertheless, he never filled a legal petition and did not urged any protests. Opposition leader Domingo Laino, who at first claimed electoral fraud, conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election day: 10/05/1998 Winner: Raúl Cubas Grau Runner up candidate: Domingo Laino</p> <p>Ruling Party In Paraguay Says It Won; Fraud Alleged The New York Times. May 11, 1998</p> <p>With only heavily contested exit polls available and electoral officials complaining of "considerable" fraud, Paraguay's governing party claimed victory in presidential elections here tonight, creating momentum for celebrating among the party faithful far in advance of official tallies.</p> <p>Exit polls conducted by Paraguayan news organizations showed roughly 52 percent voting for the candidate of the governing Colorado Party, Raul Cubas Grau, 54, and 46 percent for Domingo Laino, 62, a politician and human rights advocate who headed an alliance of opposition parties.</p> <p>But those figures were from polls in which 14 to 18 percent of those interviewed did not answer. And hours after the polls closed, an official of the supreme electoral tribunal announced that 80 percent of the early tallies sent to the tribunal by fax were falsified, and had not been sent from the polling stations at all.</p> <p>"Of course, it could change the voting results," announced so far, said Ramon Ferreira, director of the electoral registry. "Categorically."</p>

			<p>In a news conference tonight, Mr. Laino denounced the "barons and the counts" of the Colorado, who, he said, "once again tried to set a trap for the trust and the good will of the Paraguayan people." His wife, Rafaela Guanes de Laino, said the celebrations were a Colorado strategy to preempt the electoral process.</p> <p>http://orion.cide.edu:2079/lnacui2api/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T18856305408&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T18856305412&cisb=22_T18856305411&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=6742&docNo=10</p> <p>President elect in victory by default The New York Times. May 10, 1998.</p> <p>SHOUTING, singing and waving bright-red banners, stalwarts of the long-ruling Colorado Party celebrated what appeared to be the sweeping victory for Raul Cubas Grau, hailed yesterday as Paraguay's "virtual president elect".</p> <p>Yet as the 54-year-old wealthy engineer waded grinning into the throng, he heard not his own name but that of a short, balding military man sitting in jail on the other side of town. "Lino O! Lino O!" came the cry: a tribute to retired army General Lino Oviedo _ convicted coup plotter, populist hero and, according to many, the true Colorado candidate in Monday's race.</p> <p>Democratic Alliance candidate Domingo Laino, defeated in his third bid for the presidency, stayed out of the limelight yesterday. Mr Laino had claimed victory on Monday night, but a spokesman, Senator-elect Mario Paz, yesterday said that Mr Laino would concede once the official vote count was announced, probably tonight.</p> <p>Three exit polls and partial results yesterday all indicated an unexpectedly large win for the Colorados, in power for the past 51 years, including their recapture of the majority of seats in the national parliament. Analysts attributed the win to party loyalty, fear of change _ and Gen Oviedo. Until just three weeks ago, Gen Oviedo was the Colorado presidential candidate. But on April 17, Paraguay's Supreme Court upheld his 10-year jail term for his role in an attempted coup two years ago and he had to step aside for Mr Cubas.</p> <p>He didn't have to step far. Mr Cubas has pledged to free the popular general "as soon as possible" and give him an undefined but major post in his new administration, which starts on August 15. And that could mean headaches for the US Government.</p> <p>In the past, US officials have questioned not only Gen Oviedo's democratic credentials, but also his tolerance of widespread drug-smuggling by the military. No evidence has surfaced to suggest Gen Oviedo himself took part in smuggling. But as the nation's most powerful military figure for several years _ and the source of whose personal fortune is unclear _ he is suspected of at least looking the other way. Knight Ridder/Tribune</p>
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<p>Paraguay 2003</p>	<p>1=0 2=0 3=0</p>	<p>He was followed by former vice president Julio Cesar Franco of the Liberal Party with 23 percent and Pedro Fadul, a businessman running on a pro-reform platform, with 22 percent, both of whom conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election day: 27/04/2003 Winner: Nicanor Duarte Runner up candidate: Julio César Franco</p> <p>Paraguay's Voters Appear to Extend Party's 5-Decade Rule The New York Times. April 28, 2003.</p> <p>Paraguayans appeared today to be well on the way to putting their corruption-blighted country back in the hands of the Colorado Party, extending its rule, unbroken since 1947, for another five years. With just over 80 percent of votes counted, Nicanor Duarte Frutos, a former journalist and education minister, was leading with 37.6 percent. Julio Cesar Franco of the Liberal Party was second with 23.3 percent, just ahead of the 22.4 percent of ballots cast for Pedro Fadul, a successful businessman and newcomer to politics at the head of pro-reform, grass-roots movement Beloved Homeland.</p> <p>With government corruption rife and the economy sliding deeper into crisis, opposition parties had viewed this election as their best chance of unseating the Colorados since the former dictator Gen. Alfredo Stroessner was ousted in 1989 after 35 years of rule.</p>

			<p>They had hoped to emulate their neighbors Brazil and Argentina. Last year, Brazilians elected Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva as the country's first working-class president, while Argentines forced out an ineffective president through street protests in late 2001.</p> <p>But Mr. Duarte Frutos campaigned cleverly, playing on people's fears of rising crime and on nostalgia for the Stroessner days when Asuncion was so safe and sleepy that residents did not need to lock their houses or cars.</p> <p>He also called on the Colorados' political machine, which pervades nearly all sectors of Paraguayan society, controlling state sector jobs and supplying rural communities with many of their needs. Mr. Duarte Frutos promised repeatedly throughout the campaign to crack down on corruption, and in a victory speech minutes after the surveys of voters leaving the polls were published, he promised "an efficient government for all and an end to the administration of the unscrupulous."</p> <p>"There will be no place for people who believe the party and state are there to be abused to the detriment of the country," he said.</p> <p>Nevertheless, many Paraguayans did not believe that Mr. Duarte Frutos, 56, was willing, or able, to break with the Colorados' corrupt past.</p> <p>That corruption and impunity was symbolized for many by the incumbent president, Luis Gonzales Macchi, who last year was found to be driving a stolen BMW and narrowly survived impeachment after being accused of mishandling \$16 million in state money.</p> <p>"In truth, nothing will change because it will be all the same people," said Fernando Fernandez, a 24-year-old medical student voting in downtown Asuncion.</p> <p>"I'm not expecting any big changes," said Nicolas Arguello, host of "And So Life Goes On," a popular radio show where listeners phone in with their problems or to offer help to the needy.</p> <p>After six years of economic decline, Paraguayans' average income has fallen from \$1,700 a year to just over \$900, while unemployment is estimated to be as high as 35 percent. About a third of the country's six million people live in poverty.</p> <p>Mr. Macchi and his political allies are just the latest in a series of politicians who have ruled Paraguay as if it were their personal fief. Many of them are still linked to the Colorados, and Mr. Duarte Frutos will have to challenge them if he wants to create change.</p> <p>"He will be under immense pressure from the powerful vested interests of the past," said Andrew Nixon, a Paraguay expert who teaches at Britain's Birmingham University.</p> <p>Mr. Duarte Frutos said today that he would soon form a transitional cabinet and promised that "not a flea will move without our shadow cabinet knowing of it."</p> <p>Most urgently, Mr. Duarte Frutos must try to revive the economy. He said he would send a delegation to Washington as early as next week to negotiate fresh financing from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank for public works programs.</p>
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Paraguay 2008	1=0 2=0 3=0	<p>After 61 years in power, the Colorado party was voted out of office in the election of 2008. Fernando Lugo, candidate of Alianza Patriótica, won the presidency. The government candidate, Blanca Ovelar, quickly recognized his opponent victory.</p>	<p>Election day: 20/04/2008 Winner: Fernando Lugo Runner up candidate: Blanca Ovelar</p> <p>El Obispo Lugo se proclama vencedor en Paraguay tras 61 años “colorados” El país. 21 de abril de 2008.</p> <p>“Blanca Ovelar ha reconocido el triunfo del obispo en una rueda de prensa ofrecida durante la madrugada, en la que ha precisado que su partido asume "con dignidad que los resultados son irreversibles". El actual presidente, Nicanor Duarte, al tiempo de reconocer la derrota de su candidata Blanca Ovelar, anunció que el Partido Colorado hará lo posible por recuperar el poder los antes posible, lo que vaticina una oposición férrea al próximo Gobierno.”</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2008/04/21/actualidad /1208728801_850215.html</p>

Peru 1980-2011

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Peru 1980	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Villanueva denounced some irregularities, but the difference between the first and second place was more than 20%. It does not seem that Villanueva started any action against the result of the election.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 18 de mayo de 1980 <i>Winner:</i> Fernando Belaúnde Terry - Acción Popular <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Armando Villanueva del Campo - APRA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Democracy with an Asterisk: 1980-1992 The results of the first presidential elections in seventeen years appeared to suggest that very little had changed in the interval. The man who had been elected president in 1963 and overthrown in 1968, Fernando Belaunde Terry, was returned to power by a wide margin while his party, Accion Popular, which had abstained from the 1978 elections and maintained a low profile during the 1970s, gained control of the new Congress. But rather than reflecting continuity with the pre-1968 status quo, [p. 29] that victory demonstrated the exhaustion of the political actors that had dominated Peruvian politics during the 1970s: the military, APRA, the Left, and the popular movement. Torn by personal and ideological squabbles, each of these actors appeared to offer only more of the same to a populace weary of economic crisis. In this context, Fernando Belaunde and his campaign slogan of “trabajar y dejar trabajar” (work and let work) appeared as a familiar and reassuring face on the political scene, someone untouched by the political conflicts of the 1970s. [p. 30]</p> <p>Philip Mauceri. 1997. “The Transition to “Democracy” and the Failures of Institution Building.” In Maxwell A. tmeron and Philip Mauceri. (eds.) <i>The Peruvian labyrinth: polity, society, economy</i>. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The Washington Post</p> <p>May 20, 1980, Tuesday, Final Edition Ousted Peruvian Leader Leads Presidential Vote BYLINE: By Charles A. Krause, Washington Post Foreign Service SECTION: First Section; A14</p>

			<p>DATELINE: LIMA, Peru, May 19, 1980</p> <p>Fernando Belaunde Terry, the 67-year-old architect who was Peru's last democratically elected president, appears to have won yesterday's general election here and will reoccupy the presidential office from which he was ousted 12 years ago by a leftist military coup.</p> <p>Belaunde's supporters and independent political observers attributed Belaunde's strong showing to a rejection by Peru's 17 million citizens of more than a decade of military rule.</p> <p>"He is perceived as a bullfighter, strong and honest," Enrique Zileri, editor of Lima's <i>Caretas</i> magazine, said today. "Belaunde took votes from the left, the right and the center in . . . a vote against the arbitrariness and lack of freedom under military governments."</p> <p>Although the official vote count will not be available until sometime next month, unofficial returns compiled by computers of the three major television stations here indicated that Belaunde received between 42 and 44 percent of the 4 million valid votes cast. The general election was Peru's first since 1963, when Belaunde was elected to the presidential term he did not complete.</p> <p>Belaunde's percentage could decrease after the official count is completed but all observers here agree it cannot go below the 36 percent figure that would throw the election into the Congress, which also was elected yesterday.</p> <p>The biggest losers in the election were the populist American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, Peru's oldest and best organized political party, whose candidate, Armando Villaneuva, received only about 26 percent of the vote, and the country's five major leftist parties, which together received only about 17 percent of the vote.</p> <p>Belaunde also took votes from the right. Luis Bedoya Reyes, a popular former mayor of Lima favored by much of the business and upper classes here, received only 11 percent of the vote, 3 to 4 percent less than he had hoped for.</p> <p>Belaunde said, "The Peruvian people have . . . voted for the constructive development of the country. this is the secret of Accion Popular," the centrist political party Belaunde founded more than 25 years ago.</p> <p>Belaunde said today that his first priorities on assuming office on July 28 will be to provide 1 million jobs for the unemployed, to increase food production, return the country's newspapers, confiscated by the military after the 1968 coup, to their owners and to create programs to develop Peru's economy.</p> <p>Peru is plagued by unemployment of at least 20 percent, and inflation is running close to 70 percent. Manuel Ulloa, who will probably serve as finance minister in the new government, said Peru would need loans as well as other economic and technical assistance from abroad, particularly the United States. The Carter administration has strongly backed Peru's return to elected government, but its ability to come to the new government's assistance with major aid is doubted.</p>
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<p>Peru 1985</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>In the first round Barrantes lost by a 25% of difference. Given that Alan Garcia did not win more than 50%, a second round was required, but Barrantes withdrew. Barrantes said he would not contest a second round of voting because he wanted Peru to overcome political instability.</p>	<p>Election date: Domingo 14 de abril de 1985 Winner: Alan García - Partido Aprista Peruano Runner-up candidate: Alfonso Barrantes Lingán - Izquierda Unida</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>With a record 91 percent of the eligible population voting, Garcia won 47 percent of the vote, against 22 percent for Barrantes, 12 percent for Bedoya (PPC), and only a little over 6 percent for Alva Orlandini (AP). Not only had the Center-Left won a resounding victory with almost 70 percent of the vote, but the Right had suffered a stunning setback with only 18 percent. Garcia' appeal to the informal sector was remarkably successful, since his vote in the shantytowns doubled from 20 percent in 1980 to 40 percent in 1985. However, unable to win the required 50 percent majority, Garcia avoided a runoff only when the second-place Barrantes withdrew. A postelection analysis revealed that Garcia had succeeded in breaking out of APRA's customary regional limits in the north by winning decisively in Lima's pueblos juvenes, Cuzco, Puno, and the selva. [p. 385]</p> <p>Peter Hindell Klaren. 2000. <i>Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>The Globe and Mail (Canada)</p> <p>June 3, 1985 Monday</p> <p>AROUND THE WORLD Marxist concedes in Peru; Social Democrat elected</p> <p>LIMA - Alan Garcia, a Social Democrat, was proclaimed President-elect of Peru on Saturday by the Electoral Board after it accepted a decision by Marxist candidate Alfonso Barrantes not to contest a runoff. Mr. Garcia will be the first Peruvian president in 60 years to take office in democratic elections when he begins a five-year term on July 28, succeeding Fernando Belaunde Terry. Mr. Garcia, 36, received the most votes in last month's general election - 45.74 per cent of the total cast - but failed to get the outright majority needed to avoid a second round.</p>
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			<p>After Mr. Barrantes said he would not contest a second round of voting because he wanted Peru to overcome political instability, the Election Board decided to declare Mr. Garcia President. Luis Alberto Sanchez, a writer, and Luis Alva Castro, an economist, were proclaimed as Mr. Garcia's first and second vice-presidents respectively.</p>
Peru 1990	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Fujimori won about 61 percent of the votes and a hefty 20-point margin over Mario Vargas Llosa (in the second round). After the second round results were announced, Vargas Llosa flew to Paris where he said: "los electores no han querido que yo abandonara la literatura".</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 8 de abril de 1990 Winner: Alberto Fujimori - Cambio 90 Runner-up candidate: Mario Vargas Llosa - FREDEMO</p> <p>The lessons learned in this process, initiated in mid-1987, were to be bitter ones. Vargas Llosa's front won significant victories in the municipal Sections of 1989 (56 out of 178 municipalities) and did fairly well in the first round of the general elections in 1990, obtaining 27.61 percent of the votes (Cameron 1994. 119). However, his own personal dream of obtaining an overwhelming "liberal mandate" was not achieved (Vargas Llosa, M. 1991). Since the leading candidate did not obtain 50 percent of the votes, the two top contenders in the runoff elections, Vargas Llosa and Fujimori, had to compete again.</p> <p>The results were an "electoral earthquake" for the new Right (Schmidt 1991). As Cameron notes in his chapter in this book, populist- and socialist-leaning voters saw an opportunity to side against Vargas Llosa, who was portrayed as an elitist, "white" candidate, by voting for Fujimori, an independent non-white popular candidate. After the election, the front was dissolved and Vargas Llosa retired from politics and abandoned Peru. [p. 168]</p> <p>Francisco Durand. 1997. "The Growth and Limitations of the Peruvian Right." In Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri. (eds.) <i>The Peruvian labyrinth: polity, society, economy</i>. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>When the vote was finally cast, Fujimori came from seemingly nowhere to garner 25 percent of the ballots, only three points behind Vargas Llosa's 28 percent, with Alva Castro third, at 19 percent, and the combined two candidates of the Left last, at 11 percent. His remarkable showing was due in great part to his having received the lion's share of the vote of the informal sector in the shantytowns. Conversely, the failure of the Left could be asserted not only to its divisions, but to</p>

			<p>the fact that its classist approach had virtually ignored the social changes of the past fifteen years that had duced the bulging new strata of informales. To many on the Left, the insector represented a pettv bourgeoisie that oscillated unpredictably or progressive wav, depending on the circumstances. [p. 404]</p> <p>Having passed through to the second round of voting, Fujimori steadfastly occupied the center of the political spectrum while he successfully boxed Vargas Llosa in on the Right. He had little difficulty picking up votes from the Center-Left APRA, for whom the FREDEMO and the novelist were an anathema, and from the Left, which had nowhere to go. As for Vargas Llosa, he was unable to shed the “richman” tag or breakdown the class cleavage that characterized much of Peruvian politics. The candidate of FREDEMO had won over 70 percent of the vote in the upper-class districts of San Isidro and Miraflores, but less than 20 percent in the popular districts of Independencia and Villa Maria del Triunfo/Villa El Salvador. [p. 404]</p> <p>The result of the second-round vote belied such an assertion, however, since Fujimori picked up virtually most of the first-round votes for APRA and the Left and won a resounding victory—62 percent to Vargas Llosa’s 38 percent. [p. 405]</p> <p>Peter Hindell Klaren. 2000. <i>Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes</i>. Osford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>The New York Times April 16, 1990, Monday, Late Edition - Final 'Fujimori Phenomenon' in Lima Slum LIMA, Peru, April 15</p> <p>Up a sandy road, five blocks beyond the last street with electricity, behind a shanty's flimsy walls of cardboard and brown paper, Walter Trejo Malqui and two friends sat recently around a wooden table and talked politics.</p> <p>Despite the salsa music scratching out of a portable radio, the men's message did not add up to a dance invitation for Mario Vargas Llosa, Peru's novelist turned politician. On Monday, Mr. Vargas Llosa is to announce whether he will stay in the race for Peru's presidency or whether he will retire his crippled candidacy.</p> <p>"Ask anyone around here, they all voted Fujimori - and they plan to again," Mr. Trejo, a street peddler, said Saturday afternoon. Last year, he was elected secretary general of his neighborhood association.</p>
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			<p>Indeed, it was a last minute change of opinion that swept through Lima's shantytowns, converting a political unknown, Alberto Fujimori, into the frontrunner in Peru's presidential race.</p> <p>Attention by the Press While the international press lavished attention on the handsome, 54-year-old writer, the novelist's glamour and European polish apparently was lost on this capital's 3 million slum dwellers, most scraping by on the minimum salary of \$50 a week. This shantytown, carved five years ago out of the desert and named after Pope John Paul II, holds a fair cross section of the working poor who staff Lima's affluent neighborhoods: housemaids, security guards, waiters, bus drivers and primary school teachers. "We saw Vargas Llosa's people spend millions of dollars on advertising," said Mr. Trejo, who often joins his wife and three children to watch their small black-and-white television powered by a car battery. "He told them to stop and they didn't. It showed us that he couldn't control them." "We could use some of that money around here," chimed in a friend at the wooden plank table, Ruben Ricapa Guerreros, who makes a living weaving woolen rugs on three looms at home for sale to tourists.</p> <p>Often Without Water In addition to having no electricity, the shantytown is often without water for days at a time, in part because of a severe drought. "Our wives get up at 2 A.M. to wait in line by the community spigot," said Gervasio Fernandez Ramos, who retails construction materials. "Then, sometimes, the water never comes. Mario had support of big money, but he lost it among the little people." "Mario didn't talk about our problems, he didn't visit the pueblos juvenes," Mr. Trejo said, using a euphemistic Peruvian term for slums - "young towns." While Mr. Fujimori has been vague about his plans for Peru, Mr. Vargas Llosa has been frank, promising a radical overhaul along free market lines, privatizing Government-owned companies and slashing the Government payroll. Known here as "el shock," the plan scared many poor Peruvians who anticipated a ripple effect and felt that they could not afford any more sacrifices.</p> <p>Recruiting by Rebels In communities like this one where guerrillas of the Maoist group called Shining Path often make nocturnal recruiting visits, many people felt that an economic shock would push more unemployed youths toward the rebels. In early March, Mr. Vargas Llosa visited Brazil, meeting Fernando de Collor de Mello, then Brazil's President-elect. After Mr. Collor announced a radical anti-inflation program, Mr. Vargas Llosa announced that his program for Peru would be similar.</p>
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			<p>"In Brazil, everything has gone up in price, and everyone is out of work," Mr. Trejo said, echoing an image of Brazilian plan commonly presented by television and radio here. "Brazil's shock spared us a Peruvian shock."</p> <p>As a chicken clucked in the kitchen and children wandered in and out, the men around the table said that the "Fujimori phenomenon" reflected not only a rejection of known politicians but also an admiration for the Japanese living in Peru.</p> <p>Warnings From Envoy "Here in Peru, you will never see a broke Japanese," said Mr. Fernandez. "They all have a little restaurant or business. They work late hours." "It seems the Japanese are dominating the world," volunteered Mr. Ricapa. "All the watches and radios now come from there." Warnings by Japan's Ambassador that Mr. Fujimori's election will not trigger an avalanche of Japanese aid and investment do not seem to have penetrated the paper and cardboard walls here of shanties here. "A lot of people here say Fujimori is going to bring Japanese investment, technology and new factories," Mr. Ricapa said as his friend nodded in agreement. Mr. Fernandez, who 10 years ago migrated here from the Andean highlands, added: "In the countryside, a lot of peasants believe he is going to get Japan to pay the foreign debt."</p> <p>-0- St. Petersburg Times (Florida)</p> <p>June 17, 1990, Sunday, City Edition Fujimori is latest uncertainty in the land of unknowns BYLINE: SUSAN BENESCH</p> <p>SECTION: NATIONAL; ANALYSIS; Pg. 17A</p> <p>LENGTH: 1032 words</p> <p>DATELINE: LIMA, Peru</p> <p>Peruvians elected Alberto Fujimori president last Sunday for two main reasons: He was totally different from the usual politicians, and he did not say how he would fix Peru's economy (his opponent frightened many voters by proposing drastic remedies).</p>
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			<p>But now that he's elected, those attributes have turned into Fujimori's two biggest handicaps.</p> <p>"Nobody knows who he really is, or what he's going to do," said a diplomat here. In a country where uncertainty is already a national disease because of rampant inflation, continuous strikes, two leftist guerrilla movements and even an occasional earthquake, Fujimori is the latest unknown.</p> <p>He has given few hints about what he plans to do after he takes office July 28, which happens to be his 52nd birthday. He never announced a detailed platform, and his populist politics are vague. But most of the voters didn't mind: Fujimori won about 61 percent of the votes and a hefty 20-point margin over Mario Vargas Llosa, his opponent.</p> <p>Just by being elected, Fujimori became a Peruvian political drama. A first-generation Peruvian, he went from unknown to president-elect in three months.</p> <p>He was born to Japanese immigrants, and spent most of his adult life as an agricultural engineer and professor. His uneventful term as rector of Peru's National Agricultural University and a TV public affairs show he hosted make up nearly all his previous political experience.</p> <p>But last fall Fujimori formed a party called "Cambio 90" (Change 90), to launch a campaign for a seat in Peru's Senate. As the first candidate on his party's ticket, he was also technically running for president, but he lagged so far back in the pack that the Japanese Embassy didn't bother to invite him to a reception for the candidates.</p> <p>Mario Vargas Llosa, Peru's most famous living novelist and a member of Peru's wealthy white upper classes, led the polls for most of the campaign and thought he had the presidency in the bag.</p> <p>But just one month before the first-round vote April 8, Peru's Indian-blooded, poor vast majority turned against Vargas Llosa, disillusioned by his alliance with traditional right-wing parties they believe are corrupt. Vargas Llosa had also proposed "shock" treatment for Peru's more than 2,000 percent annual inflation, and the poor were afraid they would feel the shock worst.</p> <p>Fujimori appeared out of nowhere, riding a tractor to rallies and proclaiming simply "Honesty, Technology, Work." He promised not to privatize state companies, fire workers or cut back free public education all Vargas Llosa proposals. He said he would fight Peru's two strong guerrilla movements, the Sendero Luminoso and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, by studying their social origins. Vargas Llosa had suggested a harsher military fight against them.</p>
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			<p>he said. Japan has been increasing its foreign aid donations worldwide, but has continued to keep a low political profile, especially in Latin America.</p> <p>Most of the 55,000 Japanese-Peruvians would also like to keep a lower profile. They worry that if Fujimori does not succeed in his Herculean tasks, there might be a racist backlash against them. Some are even leaving the country.</p> <p>So are other Peruvians wealthy and privileged enough to afford it. Fujimori's promises to govern on behalf of the poor frighten them, and they say they don't know what to expect.</p> <p>"Too much uncertainty," said Victor Belaunde, a 23-year-old law student who has just turned his Volkswagen beetle into a taxicab, collecting money to leave for neighboring Chile. "Nobody knows what this government is going to be."</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>El triunfo del Perú telúrico La esposa de Fujimori le define como un autoritario "con lógica, que primero te enamora, te convence" JOSÉ COMAS Lima 12 JUN 1990 JOSÉ COMAS ENVIADO ESPECIAL Acusaciones de fraude fiscal en la venta de viviendas; de recibir, sin tener derecho a ello, una finca de la reforma agraria; antecedentes penales de algunos de los que entraron en sus listas de candidatos; vinculaciones con el desprestigiado Gobierno del APRA y el presidente Alan García; masiva campaña de prensa y propaganda en su contra; denuncias de su condición de japonés y hasta una miniguerra de religión, desencadenada por la jerarquía católica contra el apoyo que le dieron las sectas protestantes. Este cúmulo de factores no ha sido suficiente para frenar la irresistible ascensión del ingeniero Alberto Fujimori, de 51 años, hijo de japoneses y casado con una hija de japoneses, que el domingo repitió el maremoto de la primera vuelta y ganó de forma arrolladora la presidencia de Perú.</p> <p>La fecha de nacimiento es toda una premonición. Fujimori nació el 28 de julio, fiesta nacional de Perú, y ese día patriótico, salvo accidente, cumplirá 52 años y asumirá la presidencia. En los días previos a la elección circulaba por Lima la versión de que las Fuerzas Armadas peruanas no podrían soportar la humillación de tener que "rendir honores a un japonés". Como las Fuerzas Armadas reciben una de las actas de cada mesa de votación, se llegó a aventurar la hipótesis de que, ante una elección reñida, los militares inclinarían la balanza en contra de Fujimori. Si estos planes llegaron realmente a existir, el segundo maremoto electoral, desencadenado por Fujimori, los arruinó. Sólo</p>
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			<p>una catástrofe podrá impedir que este japonés por los cuatro costados pero nacido en Perú llegue a la presidencia. Una avalancha de votos, surgida del Perú telúrico, el de millones de seres humanos que luchan por sobrevivir en la llamada economía informal en las calles de Lima; el de los campesinos perdidos por las sierras que no hablan o apenas balbucean español; el de los cholos, negros, chinos, los no blancos; todos esos que forman la inmensa mayoría, encontró en las facciones orientales de Fujimori la esperanza de salir de la miseria.</p> <p>Cauto y silencioso</p> <p>La revista Sí, en un perfil del todavía candidato, le definía como cauto, precavido, astuto y silencioso". Sus compañeros de estudios le recuerdan "introvertido y estudioso". Serán sus rasgos orientales que le hacen inescrutable; tal vez sus manifiestas mentiras, o al menos contradicciones; o quizá el aluvión de propaganda lanzado durante la campaña electoral más sucia de la historia peruana, pero no cabe duda de que un halo de misterio rodea a Fujimori.</p> <p>Para Susana Higuchi, su esposa, es "un hombre completo, muy equilibrado. Es muy amoroso, colaborador, hábil e inteligente". Niega, a medias, que sea autoritario, una imagen que se manifestó en la segunda vuelta: "Si quieres, es autoritario, pero con lógica. Primero te enamora, te convence. Lo hace con sensibilidad, entonces ya no lo sientes como imposición o prepotencia. Te ablanda la mente y luego el corazón, entonces qué te queda". Las palabras de su esposa parecen trasladables a la seducción que Fujimori consiguió imponer al electorado peruano.</p> <p>La segunda vuelta mostró que no hay un solo Fujimori. Ante los ojos de la opinión pública se produjo una transformación. El jovial chinito de la suerte de hace dos meses se convirtió en un político agresivo, capaz de dar golpes bajos al adversario. En el debate en televisión, Fujimori no vaciló en sacar a relucir acusaciones contra su contrincante, el escritor Mario Vargas Llosa, de que consumía drogas, de haber escrito una novela pornográfica como El elogio de la madrastra, y hasta llegó a ponerle delante a madres y viudas de los periodistas asesinados en la matanza de Uchuccay, que acusan al escritor de haber elaborado un informe parcial y exculpatorio de los verdaderos culpables.</p> <p>Ataques</p> <p>Sus enemigos políticos se esforzaron hasta el final para demostrar que Fujimori estaba inscrito, junto con sus hijos, en el Consulado de Japón y que había viajado con pasaporte japonés. Se esperaba que a última hora apareciese una grabación de hace cinco años en la que el entonces recién</p>
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			<p>electo presidente Atan García decía contar con un asesor muy cualificado sobre temas agrarios, el ingeniero Fujimori.</p> <p>Nada de esto ocurrió, pero, si se hubiese publicado, lo más seguro es que no hubiese servido de nada. Fujimori es un fenómeno que no se puede medir con categorías de pura sociología electoral. Sobre Fujimori dice el psicoanalista César Rodríguez Rabanal que representa "un nuevo tipo de liderazgo, que parece corresponder mejor a las esperanzas de éxito de tantos peruanos que pueden sentirse más cercanos al ingeniero, al agricultor, al constructor de éxito que habla como ellos, que no es un retórico brillante, porque no debemos olvidar cuán desprestigiada está, felizmente, la retórica vacua".</p> <p>El futuro presidente de Perú disculpó, como pudo, todas las acusaciones en su contra, pero, aunque no hubiese encontrado excusas, nada habría sido capaz de detener el segundo tsunami (ola que sigue al maremoto). El Perú telúrico, el que está al margen de los medios de comunicación, estaba con Fujimori.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1990/06/12/internacional/645141601_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>SÁBADO, 16 de junio de 1990 Vargas Llosa: "Los peruanos no quisieron que yo dejara la literatura" JUAN CRUZ París 16 JUN 1990</p> <p>"Ça va". Con esta expresión, que en castellano significaría que uno va más o menos bien, resumió anoche el escritor peruano Mario Vargas Llosa su estado de ánimo tras la derrota que sufrió en su carrera electoral por la presidencia de Perú, que terminó el domingo con la victoria del ingeniero Alberto Fujimori. El autor de La ciudad y los perros hablaba en el programa Apostrophes, la emisión cultural más seguida en Europa y que dirige Bernard Pivot en la televisión francesa. Ayer fue el último programa de Apostrophes, que ha cumplido 15 años en antena y que el próximo viernes se despedirá con una antología de sus emisiones. Vargas Llosa había prometido estar, tanto si ganaba como si perdía las elecciones en su país.</p> <p>Vargas Llosa se mostró de buen humor, muy flaco -ha perdido ocho kilos en la campaña- y persuadido de que ahora ha de recuperar su carrera literaria. En la que ha sido su primera aparición pública tras la derrota del domingo, señaló que esta aventura política, "en la que he trabajado mucho", le ha reportado muchas enseñanzas y una comprobación: "Siempre he dicho que la historia no está escrita. Y prueba de ello es que después de haber sido el favorito, todo cambió al final de la</p>
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			<p>primera vuelta. Claro que hubiera preferido ganar, pero no deploro haber seguido hasta el final atesorando esta experiencia extraordinaria".</p> <p>De broma, el autor de Los jefes comentó que, probablemente como muchos de sus amigos, "los electores no han querido que yo abandonara la literatura".</p> <p>Con Mario Vargas Llosa estuvieron en esta emisión final de Apostrophes, que suelen ver hasta 15 millones de personas, el mexicano Fernando del Paso, cuya novela Noticias del Imperio acaba de aparecer en Francia, Pierre Citron, biógrafo del escritor francés Jean Giono; el biógrafo de Henry James, Leon Edel, y el crítico literario Pierre Ebey, autor de un estudio sobre el espíritu de la Nouvelle Revue Française de la editorial Gallimard.</p> <p>Vargas Llosa habló en el programa de su novela Elogio de la madrastra, que también ha sido publicada por Gallimard en París.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1990/06/16/cultura/645487208_850215.html</p>
<p>Peru 1995</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Fujimori was reelected in 1995 with 65%, 20 points over Perez de Cuellar. Some hours before the election there were found 600,000 falsified votes in Huanuco. When the results were finally announced, Perez de Cuellar said that he would continue working to eradicate poverty, adding that he is a democrat who accepts to play with the rules of the game, but that he could witness the lack of democracy in Peru. He did not start any action against the results of the election.</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Alberto Fujimori - Cambio 90 Runner-up candidate: Javier Pérez de Cuéllar - Unión por el Perú</p> <p>Fujimori was reelected in 1995, despite the militarization of the political regime and the centralization of power in the executive branch, because his autogolpe decision was supported by a broad, multi-class consensus on the need for exceptional measures to confront terrorism and restore economic discipline (Cameron 1994). The strength of this consensus provides a key to understanding Fujimori's success, for unanimity is as inimical to democracy as are irreconcilable differences. Democracy failed because, after a decade of violence and decline, the cacophonous plurality of interests organized by parties was no longer seen by the majority of Peruvians as necessary or desirable. The system of checks and balances built into presidentialism was considered inessential to democracy by the vast majority of the public, and Fujimori's repeated attacks on parties and politicians resonated with an electorate that associated partisan politics with corruption, excess, and irresponsibility.</p> <p>Antipolitical attitudes became so widespread that credible opposition candidates—such as unsuccessful presidential candidate Javier Perez de Cuellar and Lima's successful mavoral candidate Alberto Andrade—were both compelled to avoid even the appearance of partisan</p>

			<p>opposition to the ¹⁹⁹⁵ executive, and both sought to cast themselves as independents. Only one candidate. Meche Cabanillas of the APRA, ran under the banner of a traditional political party in the 1995 presidential election, and she won only 4 percent of the vote nationally. [p. 68]</p> <p>Maxwell A. Cameron. 1997. "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru: The Eighteenth Bmmaire of Alberto Fujimori." In Maxwell A. tmeron and Philip Mauceri. (eds.) <i>The Peruvian labyrinth: polity, society, economy</i>. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>7. Las reelecciones de Fujimori El éxito en combatir la inflación (cuyo desborde creó a finales de los años ochenta una sensación asfixiante de incertidumbre en la población y de completa imposibilidad de planificar el futuro, incluso personal) y el terrorismo, así como el probablemente ficticio, pero al fin efectivo panorama de edificios nuevos, gasolineras elegantes, restoranes de cadenas internadonales y centros comerciales deslumbrantes, ayudaron a Fujimori a su reelección en 1995. En estas elecciones Fujimori ganó en primera vuelta por un margen mayor del que esperaban sus más entusiastas seguidores: 64 por ciento del voto, derrotando ampliamente al prestigioso diplomático Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, antiguo secretario general de la Organización de Naciones Unidas. [p. 391]</p> <p>Carlos Contreras y Marcrcos Cueto. 2007. <i>Historia del Perú contemporáneo. Desde las luchas por la independencia hasta el presente</i>. Lima: IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Descubiertos en Perú 600.000 votos falsos en víspera de las elecciones Pérez de Cuéllar amaga con la retirada JUAN JESÚS AZNAREZ Lima 9 ABR 1995</p> <p>¿Embajador, qué opina sobre los 600.000 votos falsificados en Huánuco? Ansioso y desharrapado entre corbatas diplomáticas y agua de lavanda, un grupo de corresponsales irrumpía la noche del viernes en un cóctel de Lima para abordar al anterior secretario de la ONU, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. "No estaba tan descaminado cuando advertí contra el fraude", respondió el principal adversario de Alberto Fujimori en las elecciones de hoy en Perú.</p>
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			<p>Una hora antes, César Gaviria, secretario general de la OEA, había confirmado el descubrimiento de una trampa que afectaba al 6% del padrón electoral, favorecía al presidente según la oposición, y podía alcanzar el 10% de ser ciertas otras denuncias. Pérez de Cuéllar, insinuó anoche su retirada caso de no asegurarse la limpieza del proceso. Lo hacía con estas palabras en una conferencia de prensa desarrollada a media tarde (hora local). "Tengo un compromiso con el país y con mis electores y ello me obliga a permanecer en la contienda hasta, donde sea aceptable, pero exijo que el Jurado Nacional de Elecciones me garantice que está en condiciones de asegurar la limpieza del proceso". Presente en la reunión de Miraflores, otro aspirante a la jefatura del Estado, Alejandro Toledo, había amenazado: "Estamos pensando en la pateadura del tablero</p> <p>[no participar]".</p> <p>Pérez de Cúellar y otros candidatos de la oposición, coaligados en la protesta, anunciaron una reunión de última hora para adoptar la postura definitiva sobre el escándalo. Algunos pidieron la postergación de los comicios. Un total de 3.000 actas electorales, agrupando en sus listados a 600.000 votos, fueron incautadas en Huánuco cuando 500 de ellas había sido ya trucadas. El 75% de la documentación amañada refrendaba a Fujimori, según portavoces de la oposición que afirmaron haber conocido los datos de la fiscalía.</p> <p>Un comunicado de la presidencia- del Consejo de Ministros repudiando el engaño afirma que las actas marcadas por las doce personas detenidas beneficia a seis partidos diferentes.</p> <p>No precisa, sin embargo, qué candidatura obtiene mayor número de votos falsos. La estafa se fraguó y llevó a cabo en el domicilio de un congresista del partido gubernamental, quien no repite candidatura pero es citado como coordinador de la lista de Cambio 90. También quedó implicado el alcalde de la localidad. Cinco personas eludieron la acción policial. Una de ellas es Sergio Morales, uno de los responsables de los almacenes del Jurado Nacional de Elecciones y actualmente en requisitoria con cargos de haber recibido 1.500 dólares por la entrega de las 3.000 actas.</p> <p>Aclarado para el Gobierno</p> <p>"Todo ha quedado perfectamente aclarado" dijo el ministro Efraín Goldenberg, portavoz del Gabinete. Tampoco duda de que sea un incidente de carácter aislado el ministro del Interior, general Juan Briones. Los detenidos pretendían "timar a cinco candidatos al Congreso" a razón de 1.500 dólares por cabeza. Y en la avalancha de declaraciones participó el presidente del Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, Ricardo Nugent, para descartar "tajantemente" que se esté a las puertas de un gran fraude.</p>
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			<p>Este organismo, encargado de velar por la limpieza de las elecciones, emitió anoche un comunicado en el que dice que el hecho del fraude "no afectará en absoluto al resultado electoral" y subraya que "no existen indicios razonables para responsabilizar a partidos políticos, agrupaciones independientes o alianzas electorales en tales hechos", cuya responsabilidad penal quedará establecida por el poder judicial.</p> <p>Requiriendo el anonimato, un cualificado observador oficial de los comicios, destacó la necesaria implicación castrense en fases posteriores de la operación abortada. "Creemos que el plan hubiera contado con la complicidad de uniformados ya que todas las sacas son transportadas en vehículos militares. El cambio de los sobres buenos por los que contenían la documentación falsificadas habría de efectuarse en algún momento del recorrido sin control civil".</p> <p>Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, en el cóctel, destacaba que una de sus preocupaciones fundamentales es el comportamiento de la jefatura de las Fuerzas Armadas, cuyo activo respaldo al actual presidente ya se manifestó en el golpe de abril de 1992. "Llamo a los oficiales patriotas, que son la mayoría, a no sumarse a fraude alguno", instó después.</p> <p>Las denuncias sobre fraude no se agotan en Huánuco y llegaron también desde Cerro del Pasco y Huancavelica, según el secretario general de la OEA. César Gaviria descartó, sin embargo, la participación del Estado en el confirmado robo de las actas. Un destacado comentarista del diario opositor La Republica, reaccionó furibundo. "Nadie le pide a Gaviria que venga aquí a avalar suciedades".</p> <p>Fujimori, en un breve mensaje de vísperas, no aludió al escándalo. Prefirió glosar su gestión: "Ya nos encontramos en un camino seguro, no tiene ningún sentido arriesgarlo". http://elpais.com/diario/1995/04/09/internacional/797378408_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Pérez de Cuéllar promete seguir luchando contra la pobreza JUAN JESÚS AZNAREZ Lima 11 ABR 1995 Javier Pérez de Cuéllar mantuvo silencio en su domicilio de Lima hasta que el escrutinio de los votos determinó la imparable victoria de Fujimori. Entonces entregó a la prensa nacional y extranjera un comunicado en el que subraya su intención de seguir luchando "por una democracia que erradique la pobreza". Pérez de Cuéllar dijo haber sufrido el Perú de carne y hueso, el país del abandono, el hambre y el desempleo. "Las condiciones ínfimas de la calidad de vida de la mayoría</p>
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			<p>son las que me llevaron a aceptar la candidatura a la presidencia de la República porque estoy convencido de que nadie puede hablar de éxitos de Perú cuando la mayoría continúa sumida en la pobreza".</p> <p>Pérez de Cuéllar, que había denunciado la posibilidad de fraude y fue la otra gran referencia de los comicios, agregó que su candidatura respondía a la necesidad de lavar la imagen del país ante la comunidad internacional, que citó "definitivamente corroída por el autoritarismo y la sistemática destrucción de sus instituciones democráticas". "Me llevó el convencimiento", añadió, "de que los peruanos merecemos alternativas mejores para que podamos confiar en una democracia auténtica". El diplomático se definió como un demócrata integral que acepta jugar con reglas de juego claras y en igualdad de condiciones. Afirmó también haber constatado la ausencia de una voluntad política que garantice la democracia.</p> <p>Sociedad democrática</p> <p>Al igual que otros miembros de la oposición, pidió que "a partir de mañana mismo" haya claros indicios de que Perú marcha hacia una sociedad democrática, con justicia en la redistribución de la riqueza nacional. Simpatizantes y delegaciones vecinas se concentraron frente a su residencia para apoyar su candidatura.</p> <p>Mercedes Cabanillas, aspirante a la jefatura del Estado por el APRA, dijo lamentar que el hallazgo de actas adulteradas en Huánuco y tal vez en otros lugares, demuestren que el proceso electoral no fue transparente".</p> <p>Alejindro Toledo, que disputa el tercer puesto a Cabanillas con su candidatura CODE-País Posible, agregó: "Cualesquiera que sean los resultados los acataré porque soy respetuoso con la voluntad popular". Tildado por sus detractores como un niño bonito que se anuncia como cholo solidario, Toledo dijo: "Aquí me quedo y no retornaré ni a Harvard, Stanford o Paris".</p> <p>También aceptó la derrota el alcalde de Lima, y empresario periodístico, Ricardo Belmont, quien subrayó haber peleado como un hombre de bien para hacer conocer sus planteamientos.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1995/04/11/internacional/797551203_850215.html</p>
Peru 2000	1 = 1 2 = 0	Fujimori and Toledo competed in a second round. Given the lack of	Election date:

	<p>3 = 1</p>	<p>conditions to hold an election in conditions of equality, Toledo asked to put off the election 10 days. The National Jury of Elections refused to put off the second round and Toledo withdrew his candidacy. Toledo called his supporters to engage in acts of peaceful protest against the elections, the evening the second round was held. There were various protests against the electoral fraud, all over the country. The Clinton administration and the OAS said that they could not consider valid this election.</p>	<p>Domingo 9 de abril de 2000 (Primera vuelta) Domingo 28 de mayo de 2000 (Segunda vuelta)</p> <p>Winner: Alberto Fujimori - Perú 2000 Runner-up candidate: Alejandro Toledo - Perú Posible</p> <p>Los partidos existentes muestran un muy precario asentamiento en el país; funcionan básicamente en momentos electorales o en coyuntura casi meramente como “omnibus” que, gracias a la posesión de un registro electoral, transportan candidatos diversos, sin mayor relación entre sí, a los cargos de elección pública a cambio de apoyos a la campaña central del partido. Así, las candidaturas se negocian con precarios líderes regionales o locales que requieren una plataforma más amplia dentro de la cual insertarse, con lo que la disciplina y la cohesión interna son muy bajas. Estas características fueron evidentes en la debilidad de los partidos durante las últimas elecciones generadas del 2000 y 2001. Solo quiero llamar la atención sobre algunos datos. En primer lugar, la enorme volatilidad de los actores políticos y lo precario del respaldo ciudadano que concitan. En la elección del 2000, durante todo 1999 y los primeros meses del 2000, los principales rivales de Alberto Fujimori fueron Alberto Andrade y Luis Castañeda; al final, Alejandro Toledo, un candidato menor y sin mayor opción, terminó ubicándose en el Segundo lugar; llama la atención que Andrade obtuviera apenas el 2,8% y Castañeda el 1,7% (ver cuadro 1). [p. 23]</p> <p>Martin Tanaka. 2005. <i>Democracia sin partidos Peru, 2000 – 2005: Los problemas de representación y las propuestas de reforma política</i>. Lima: IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Para las elecciones presidenciales y congresales del año 2000 Alberto Fujimori se enfrentó a una oposición dispersa en ocho candidaturas. El presidente estaba respaldado por una alianza electoral denominada Perú 2000, que reunía a los varios grupos políticos que había ido creando a lo largo de su gestión para presentar siempre una imagen renovada. Cuando parecía que, igual que en 1995, tendría una victoria fácil, se produjo el despegue de Alejandro Toledo entre las candidaturas opositoras. Éste era un economista proveniente de una región indígena del departamento de Ancash, quien ya había probado suerte, y con poco éxito, en las elecciones anteriores. Al mando de su grupo político, Perú Posible, prometía mantener el programa económico liberal del gobierno, pero a la vez resolver lo que era la principal preocupación de la mayoría de los peruanos: el desempleo. Uno de los más importantes atractivos de Toledo era que él encarnaba la demostración de que era posible lograr el ascenso social por medio de la educación, una aspiración que tenían muchos peruanos. Superando su origen social pobre, indígena y provinciano, que era como ser tres veces</p>
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			<p>pobre, había logrado seguir estudios en la Universidad de Stanford en los Estados Unidos, labrándose una importante carrera profesional como consultor y professor en la prestigiosa Escuela de Administración de Negocios, ESAN.</p> <p>En medio de graves denuncias de falsificación de firmas para la inscripción del movimiento fujimorista Perú 2000 y del bloqueo de las empresas de television a los avisos de la oposición, y ante las escrupulosas miradas de diversos organismos internacionales, las elecciones del nueve de abril concluyeron en un resultado que dejó a Fujimori a un escaso décimo y medio porcentual de la Victoria en primera vuelta, mientras Toledo obtenía un sólido 40 %. [p. 398]</p> <p>Con tales resultados, debía procederse a una “segunda vuelta” electoral, mecanismo que ya se había usado en el país en 1990, pero con la particularidad que ahora ésta sería con uno de los contendores como presidente en ejercicio, lo que, dado el control, o al menos la mrmencia, que un regimen que ya llevaba una década en el poder, tenía sobre los principales organismos del Estado, incluyendo los de la jurisdicción electoral, llenaba el acto de muchas suspicacias. A causa de esto, Alejandro Toledo, a pocos días de la elección, anunció el retiro de su candidatura, a menos de que las elecciones fuesen postergadas, lo que el jurado electoral se negó a hacer. Fujimori obtuvo así en la segunda vuelta el 51.2 % de los votos, aunque con el rechazo de los sectores de la oposición y de la opinion internacional, que sospechaban fraude. [p. 400]</p> <p>Carlos Contreras y Marcrcos Cueto. 2007. <i>Historia del Perú contemporáneo. Desde las luchas por la independencia hasta el presente</i>. Lima: IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Toledo convoca a todos los peruanos a la resistencia civil contra Fujimori Las elecciones presidenciales se celebran hoy entre el repudio de la comunidad internacional FRANCESC RELEA Lima 28 MAY 2000</p> <p>El candidato de la oposición, Alejandro Toledo, convocó ayer a los peruanos a la resistencia civil pacífica contra las elecciones de hoy, en las que el presidente Alberto Fujimori, en el poder desde 1990, pretende perpetuarse, sin contrincantes, cinco años más. Los comicios se celebrarán con el raquíitico respaldo del Gobierno y los organismos afines, pero en los colegios electorales no habrá observadores independientes ni interventores de la oposición. Las autoridades hicieron oídos sordos al clamor que pedía un aplazamiento de la segunda vuelta de las presidenciales por falta de garantías.</p> <p>Toledo anunció solemnemente "la muerte de la democracia en el Perú con la resolución del Jurado Nacional de Elecciones-JNE " y se propone asumir el liderazgo de "la lucha por la recuperación de la democracia y la reconstrucción de la institucionalidad". El candidato de la oposición peruana</p>
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		<p>subrayó que será una "resistencia pacífica", como la que encabezó en su día en Estados Unidos el líder contra la segregación racial Martin Luther King, de quien suele recuperar en sus mítines la famosa frase "Tengo un sueño", la filipina Corazón Aquino o el indio Mahatma Gandhi. La primera convocatoria de la movilización popular es para esta tarde, a partir del cierre de los colegios electorales, en la plaza San Martín de Lima, y en las principales ciudades de país. En Arequipa, Iquitos, Chiclayo, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Ancash... habrá manifestaciones pacíficas, anunció el candidato de Perú Posible. "Vamos a continuar nuestra travesía por el Perú". La resistencia cívica a la que convoca Toledo debe servir, según afirmó, para unir esfuerzos, evitar acciones violentas y no caer en provocaciones. Negó haber tenido ningún contacto con los militares y aseveró: "No tocaremos las puertas de los cuarteles".</p> <p>El silencio mantenido por los uniformados a lo largo del proceso electoral se rompió ayer con el primer comunicado difundido en los medios de comunicación. El Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas y la Policía Nacional, que no emitieron declaración alguna durante la primera vuelta, dirigen un claro mensaje a la población en el que apoyan sin ambigüedades la cuestionada jornada electoral de hoy. Los militares anuncian que se han adoptado todas las medidas necesarias para mantener el orden, recuerdan que se impedirá todo intento de "coacción, cohecho, soborno u otra acción que tienda a coartar la libertad del elector", advierte a quienes "pretendan impedir, perturbar o amenazar el normal desarrollo del proceso electoral" y anima a la población a acudir a las urnas para cumplir con su obligación democrática.</p> <p>De nada ha servido la persistente reclamación de la mayoría de fuerzas políticas, con la candidatura opositora Perú Posible a la cabeza, de instituciones democráticas, como la Defensoría del Pueblo y el Colegio de Abogados de Lima, o de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), Unión Europea (UE) y Estados Unidos. El Jurado Nacional Electoral (JNE), de indudable obediencia al oficialismo, mantuvo la fecha del 28 de mayo, a pesar de la opinión unánime a favor de un retraso de 10 días para permitir una auditoría del nuevo software para el cómputo de votos de la Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE).</p> <p>En respuesta a la intransigencia de las autoridades peruanas, la misión de observadores de la OEA decidió abandonar sus trabajos. Tan sólo mantiene un reducido retén que trabaja en la elaboración del informe final. Lo que para cualquier analista imparcial constituye un escándalo mayúsculo y deslegitima el proceso electoral es visto con absoluta normalidad por el Gobierno. Para el primer ministro, Alberto Bustamante, la ausencia de observadores no afecta a la validez de las elecciones. Es posible que al principio pueda dar una imagen distorsionada de Perú, dijo, pero en cuestión de días el problema estará resuelto. Su compañero de Gabinete y ministro de Transportes, Alberto Pandolfi, reconoció que algo ha sucedido en Perú en las últimas semanas. Con una buena dosis de</p>
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			<p>cinismo manifestó: "Quien sea elegido presidente, quien quiera que sea, tendrá que ordenar de nuevo la casa".</p> <p>Alguien le preguntó al candidato Toledo por el resultado de los comicios. "Nadie podrá verificar los resultados. No tendremos personeros . La OEA, Transparencia, la Defensoría del Pueblo no estarán. Pueden hacer lo que quieran. No descarto el escenario en el que hagan aparecer un triunfo de Fujimori por 52% a 48%, para tratar de legitimar los resultados", dijo.</p> <p>En los próximos días se anuncian nuevas revelaciones de las irregularidades del proceso electoral. El periodista Fabián Salazar, agredido y torturado por estar en posesión de presunta documentación comprometedor para las autoridades ha dado nuevos detalles de la connivencia de miembros del tribunal electoral y de empresas encuestadoras con el Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional (SIN) y el todopoderoso asesor presidencial Vladimiro Montesinos. Toledo puso en aviso a la prensa internacional ante una inminente revelación de vídeos en los que se ve a varios de los referidos protagonistas. El periodista Salazar aseguró que se dispone a abandonar Perú por la amenazas recibidas contra su persona y su familia. http://elpais.com/diario/2000/05/28/internacional/959464807_850215.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Fujimori logra un tercer mandato a pesar del 30% de votos nulos, según los primeros datos</p> <p>Incidentes violentos y un número indeterminado de detenidos en las protestas contra el fraude FRANDESC RELEA Lima 29 MAY 2000</p> <p>La cuestionada segunda vuelta de las presidenciales de Perú, a la que sólo acudió el candidato Alberto Fujimori, concitó escaso entusiasmo entre los 14,5 millones de electores y el voto de castigo de aquellos que fueron a las urnas. Según la proyección hecha por le empresa CPI partiendo de los primeros datos oficiales, y con el 25% del escrutinio, Fujimori habría logrado un 49,6% de los votos, el opositor Alejandro Toledo el 15%, los votos nulos sumarían hasta el 30,6% -cuando en la primera vuelta se quedaron en el 2,25%- y los sufragios en blanco el 4,8%. Victoria electoral para Fujimori, pero empate técnico desde el punto de vista político.</p> <p>Una gran parte del electorado hizo caso a las consignas de Toledo, aunque las elecciones sólo quedarían invalidadas con dos tercios de los votos en la categoría de nulos o blancos. El 15% de Toledo sumado al 30,6% de votos nulos situarían a la oposición en un 45%, a sólo cuatro puntos de Fujimori. Es sólo una lectura política, pero es el mensaje del electorado al presidente, que lograría</p>
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			<p>su tercer mandato consecutivo en estos comicios sin observadores independientes. Algo que no parecía importar ayer al presidente de la oficina de cómputo (ONPE), José Portillo: "El gran observador es Dios". Portavoces del oficialismo señalaron que todo había funcionado como estaba previsto, pero en varios puntos del país hubo acciones de protesta contra el fraude. Sobre las seis de la tarde hora local (una de la madrugada de hoy hora peninsular española) se registraban numerosos enfrentamientos en varias ciudades del interior, con un número indeterminado de detenidos. Sólo en Chimbote, al norte del país, 14 manifestantes fueron detenidos, y en Trujillo, también al norte, el Ejército dispersó a los opositores con tiros al aire.</p> <p>En Lima, se producían choques entre manifestantes y policías durante todo el día, y en la céntrica plaza de San Martín, el candidato opositor, Alejandro Toledo, concentraba a última hora a miles de seguidores. "Para elegir hay que escoger y aquí no se puede escoger, porque el candidato de la oposición se ha retirado. He venido aquí a votar nulo", señalaba un votante.</p> <p>Las autoridades electorales mantuvieron hasta el último momento la pantomima electoral de un solo candidato. Las papeletas de votación contenían, como si nada hubiera pasado, la foto y nombre de los dos candidatos. El tribunal electoral rechazó retirar las papeletas de Toledo de los colegios electorales.</p> <p>Fujimori empezó la jornada del mismo modo que en la primera vuelta, el pasado 9 de abril, con un desayuno ante los periodistas y acompañado de sus dos hijas y de los candidatos a las dos vicepresidencias de su candidatura, Francisco Tudela y Ricardo Márquez. Descartó la inestabilidad y el aislamiento internacional de Perú.</p> <p>Toledo recorrió varios comedores en el cinturón de Lima, y aprovechó para afirmar: "Hoy empieza la tercera vuelta para nosotros. Es el inicio de una resistencia pacífica para reclamar el derecho de vivir en democracia". Dijo tener la percepción de una gran ausencia en las urnas, aunque precisó: "Nadie podrá verificar los resultados, por lo que no sabremos qué ha ocurrido".</p> <p>El líder opositor alertó de una campaña de miedo "como parte de una estrategia del Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional" y advirtió de la existencia de "un operativo policial y militar" con la detención de jóvenes acusados de subversivos y cómplices con el terrorismo. Sin la presencia de observadores, la comunidad internacional aguarda el resultado de una elecciones carentes de legitimidad. Fuentes diplomáticas indicaron que varios países de la UE y EEUU ya estudian sanciones.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/2000/05/29/internacional/959551201_850215.html</p>
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			<p>-0-</p> <p>Toledo afirma que Perú es una dictadura y pide al Ejército que abandone a Fujimori Enfrentamientos y manifestaciones generalizadas en todo el país contra las elecciones FRANCESC RELEA Lima 30 MAY 2000</p> <p>Ante una multitud de 70.000 personas concentradas en el centro de Lima, el líder de la oposición, Alejandro Toledo, llamó ayer a las Fuerzas Armadas a abandonar al presidente Alberto Fujimori y no actuar contra la población. "Sigue a tu país y no a Fujimori", gritó. Varias pancartas pedían: "Hermano uniformado, únete a tu pueblo". Las elecciones de candidato único sólo han servido para autoproclamar a Fujimori y para colocar a Perú al borde de la rebelión. Las fuerzas de oposición no reconocerán el resultado de las elecciones, que dan al presidente en ejercicio una victoria para un tercer mandato que nadie festejó.</p> <p>"Estas elecciones son ilegítimas porque no representan la voluntad del pueblo. Son nulas", dijo Toledo. El líder de la oposición dijo, "con claridad y sin ambigüedad", que Perú vive "una dictadura" y que por eso ha tomado la decisión de "rescatar la democracia" en su país. "Elecciones, nulidad", tronaba la plaza San Martín de Lima, escenario de movilizaciones de masas históricas en Perú. A falta de contrincantes, Fujimori obtiene, según los datos oficiales provisionales y con el 88,94% escrutado, el 74,77% de los votos válidos frente al 25,23% de Toledo, que no participó en los comicios y llamó a sus seguidores a la abstención o al voto nulo. Las papeletas anuladas, con la frase "No al fraude", llegan al 30,86%, cuando en la primera vuelta fueron el 2,25%. Desde el exterior, las elecciones recibieron una unánime condena. El Departamento de Estado de EEUU señaló que suponen una seria amenaza al sistema interamericano y a su compromiso con la democracia, y negó toda legitimidad a los comicios. "A la vista del rechazo del Gobierno de Perú de aceptar las quejas de los observadores internacionales sobre la falta de tiempo para garantizar el nuevo sistema de recuento de votos, no consideramos válida esta elección", dijo una portavoz de la Administración Clinton. "Ningún presidente que sea elegido de un proceso tan defectuoso puede reclamar legitimidad".</p> <p>Aunque no puede tener un efecto práctico, un análisis político de estos resultados indica un empate técnico entre Fujimori y Toledo. Sólo así puede interpretarse el aumento espectacular de votos nulos, procedentes de aquellos que acudieron a las urnas para evitar la multa de 32 dólares (unas 5.800 pesetas) y las otras sanciones a las que se exponen quienes no votan. Un abogado antifujimorista explicaba que fue a votar sólo porque hoy tenía varias diligencias judiciales, para las que es necesario presentar resguardo de la papeleta.</p>
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		<p>Hubo algunas abstenciones significativas. La más anecdótica fue la de Vladimiro Montesinos, jefe del servicio de inteligencia y asesor especial del presidente. En su colegio electoral se le esperó y se dispuso un gran dispositivo de seguridad, pero el jefe de los espías no llegó, probablemente por motivos de trabajo. En la plaza, en varias pancartas con foto incluida, podía leerse: "Montesinos, asesino".</p> <p>Los ánimos estaban muy caldeados en el centro de Lima y en tantas otras plazas a lo largo y ancho de Perú. Los concentrados gritaban "insurgencia" y pretendían dirigirse hacia el Palacio de Gobierno, fuertemente custodiado. Diego García Sayán, asesor de Toledo, recorría intranquilo los pasillos del hotel Bolívar, habilitado como cuartel general de la candidatura opositora. "Esto no lo controla nadie, esto es Indonesia", decía. Pero el nuevo líder de la oposición peruana hizo alarde de estadista al llamar repetidamente a sus seguidores a seguir en la plaza. Hasta tres veces proclamó que las protestas en todo el país serán pacíficas, aunque precisó, dirigiendo sus palabras a Fujimori: "¡Pero usted engendra violencia!".</p> <p>Gran marcha nacional</p> <p>La concentración terminó entre la intensa humareda de granadas lacrimógenas lanzadas por la policía contra manifestantes rezagados, pero nadie intentó el asalto al Palacio de Gobierno. Ninguna cadena de televisión abierta transmitió el acto de Toledo, por lo que pocos peruanos pudieron escuchar la convocatoria que hizo el principal adversario de Fujimori a una gran marcha nacional que confluya en Lima el 28 de julio, con el objeto de impedir pacíficamente que el presidente autoproclamado pueda asumir el cargo.</p> <p>Toledo estuvo arropado por los líderes de todas las fuerzas políticas de oposición y cedió la palabra al general Francisco Morales Bermúdez, que derrocó en 1975 al general Velasco Alvarado y entregó el poder a los civiles cinco años después. En su primera intervención pública en los últimos 10 años, el general criticó con dureza a Fujimori a quien llegó a comparar con Hitler y Mussolini.</p> <p>Los incidentes fueron de mayor gravedad en ciudades del interior del país, como Huancayo, donde grupos incontrolados incendiaron la sede de Telefónica y se enfrentaron con las fuerzas policiales hasta avanzada la noche.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/2000/05/30/internacional/959637601_850215.html</p>
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<p>Peru 2001</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>After knowing the results, Alan García Conceded defeat and offeres his support to Toledo.</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Fernando Alejandro Toledo - PP Runner-up candidate: Alan García - APRA</p> <p>-0- LOS PRIMEROS RESULTADOS DIERON POR GANADOR A ALEJANDRO TOLEDO Llegó el día de la fiesta del Cholo</p> <p>En la segunda vuelta de las elecciones presidenciales peruanas, Alejandro Toledo triunfó por el escaso margen de unos cuatro puntos sobre su adversario Alan García, quien reconoció su derrota, y agradeció la “reparación moral” que le dieron sus votantes.</p> <p>Por Carlos Noriega Desde Lima</p> <p>Después un año y medio de una dura campaña por llegar a ser presidente del Perú, en la cual debió enfrentar primero a la dictadura de Alberto Fujimori y un fraude electoral, y luego un segundo proceso electoral bajo un gobierno de transición, Alejandro Toledo logró ayer hacer realidad su viejo sueño de ser presidente del Perú. Al cierre de esta edición la Organización Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE) dio resultados al 70 por ciento por ciento, según los cuales Toledo obtuvo 51,65 por ciento y el ex presidente Alan García 48,35 por ciento. Conocidos los resultados de la ONPE al 50 por ciento a las ocho de la noche, Alan García dio una conferencia de prensa en la que admitió su derrota y ofreció su apoyo a Toledo. La ex secretaria de estado norteamericana Madeleine Albright, que encabezó una misión de observación electoral del Centro Carter, acudió a saludar a Toledo por su victoria.</p> <p>http://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-06/01-06-04/pag21.htm</p>
<p>Peru 2006</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Ollanta Humala conceded defeat</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Alan García - APRA Runner-up candidate: Ollanta Humala - UPP</p> <p>-0-</p>

			<p>Ollanta Humala reconoce su derrota en las elecciones peruanas</p> <p>El ex comandante Ollanta Humala aceptó su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales del domingo, aunque se mostró satisfecho porque el nacionalismo ha logrado cambiar "el mapa político en Perú". AGENCIA EFE JUNIO 5 DE 2006</p> <p>El ex comandante Ollanta Humala aceptó su derrota en las elecciones presidenciales del domingo, aunque se mostró satisfecho porque el nacionalismo ha logrado cambiar "el mapa político en Perú". "Conforme a nuestro compromiso democrático reconocemos los resultados" y "saludamos a las fuerzas que han competido representadas por el señor Alan García", manifestó Humala tras conocerse los primeros resultados oficiales que otorgaron la victoria al socialdemócrata. "Hoy comienza la gran transformación", dijo, al resaltar que "es una realidad que el mapa político ha cambiado en el Perú", en alusión a los resultado de su partido, Unión por el Perú (UPP), convertido en la primera fuerza política del Congreso. La UPP logró 45 de los 120 escaños de la Cámara Legislativa en las elecciones del pasado 9 de abril, frente a los 39 de su rival, el Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP), aunque ninguno de ellos cuenta con mayoría absoluta. "Vamos a trabajar decididamente para cumplir y hacer cumplir las grandes reivindicaciones que se han prometido en campaña electoral", agregó. Humala consideró, además, que las elecciones han sido "un triunfo de la democracia y del pueblo peruano" y destacó sus logros en un sólo año, en alusión a su corta vida en la escena política. "Creo que ésta es una noche de victoria porque hemos logrado en tan corto tiempo despertar conciencias", acotó. Con un 77,3 por ciento de los votos escrutados, la Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE) otorga a Alan García el 55,4 por ciento de los votos y a Ollanta Humala el 44,5%.</p> <p>http://www.caracol.com.co/especiales-notas/ollanta-humala-reconoce-su-derrota-en-las-elecciones-peruanas/20060605/nota/294285.aspx</p> <p>Humala reconoce derrota en segunda vuelta de elecciones presidenciales El candidato presidencial del Partido Nacionalista Unión por el Perú (PNUPP), Ollanta Humala, reconoció el domingo la derrota en las elecciones aunque expresó estar satisfecho porque el nacionalismo ha logrado cambiar "el mapa político en Perú".</p>
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			<p>Humala hizo este reconocimiento después de que las cifras oficiales confirmaran los sondeos extraoficiales "a boca de urna" y "conteo rápido" y colocan como virtual mandatario peruano al ex presidente Alan García (1985-1990) del Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP).</p> <p>La titular de la Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE) , Magdalena Chu, en su primer reporte al 77,331 por ciento de las actas escrutadas otorga un total de 5.750.148 (55,458%) sufragantes a favor de García.</p> <p>Humala manifestó: "Conforme a nuestro compromiso democrático reconocemos los resultados" y "saludamos a las fuerzas que han competido representadas por el señor Alan García".</p> <p>"Hoy comienza la gran transformación", dijo, al resaltar que " es una realidad que el mapa político ha cambiado en el Perú", en alusión a los resultado de su partido, Unión por el Perú (PNUPP), convertido en la primera fuerza política del Congreso.</p> <p>La PNUPP logró 45 de los 120 escaños de la Cámara Legislativa en la primera vuelta de las elecciones del pasado 9 de abril, frente a los 39 de su rival, el Partido Aprista Peruano, aunque ninguno de ellos cuenta con mayoría absoluta. Fin</p> <p>http://spanish.peopledaily.com.cn/31617/4437174.html</p>
<p>Peru 2011</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Keiko Fujimori conceded defeat</p>	<p>Election date: Winner: Ollanta Humala - Gana Perú Runner-up candidate: Keiko Fujimori - Fuerza 2011</p> <p>Reconoce Fujimori su derrota frente a Humala</p> <p>Perú [Elecciones] Por Notimex 06/06/2011 - 03:09 PM Lima.- La congresista peruana Keiko Fujimori aceptó hoy su derrota en la segunda vuelta presidencial celebrada el domingo, que ganó el ex militar Ollanta Humala, y se comprometió a “tender puentes” para contribuir al desarrollo del país.</p>

			<p>“Reconozco su triunfo (de Humala). Saludo su victoria y le deseo suerte”, dijo la ex abanderada presidencial de Fuerza 2011 en una breve conferencia de prensa que ofreció este lunes en su residencia, en la zona capitalina de Camacho.</p> <p>La hija del encarcelado ex mandatario Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000) consideró que es el momento de iniciar un proceso de diálogo y dijo que el país es el gran ganador del proceso electoral que terminó con la victoria de Humala, el domingo pasado.</p> <p>La legisladora comentó que “es fundamental” que Perú continúe con el crecimiento económico y que se eviten sobresaltos como el ocurrido en la Bolsa de Valores de Lima, cuyo principal indicador se desplomó este lunes 12.51 por ciento.</p> <p>“Que el país no se detenga. Que mantenga su rumbo. Seré una oposición constructiva y sólida y defenderemos nuestras convicciones y priorizaremos los intereses del país”, indicó Fujimori.</p> <p>Según el balance oficial de escrutinios, Humala, de Gana Perú, ganó los comicios con el 51.36 por ciento de los votos (siete millones 276 mil 123 sufragios), mientras que Fujimori recibió el respaldo del 48.63 por ciento de electores (seis millones 888 mil 963 votos). http://www.zocalo.com.mx/seccion/articulo/reconoce-fujimori-su-derrota-frente-a-humala</p>
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Philippines 1986-2010

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Philippines 1986	1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 1	Corazon Aquino claimed victory. On February 16, Corazon C. Aquino, claiming victory in the Philippine presidential election, announced a program of strikes and boycotts today that she said would be the start of a nonviolent campaign to bring down the	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 February 1986, (Nullified on March 24, 1986) <i>Winner:</i> Ferdinand Marcos, KBL <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Corazon Aquino, PDP-Laban</p> <p>The Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections held on 7 February 1986 in the Philippines were snap elections, and are popularly known as the Snap Elections, that followed the end of Martial</p>

		<p>Government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos. Looks like she did not present any legal petition to declare the election null, since the Congress was revising the validity of the election. After pressure from Aquino's supporters, from the Catholic Church, from the US Government, and after an important part of the military and the foreign service withdraw their support to Marcos, he quit power and flew out the presidential palace in US helicopters.</p> <p>See the movie: A Dangerous Life http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RNhVry_a7pQ</p>	<p>Law and brought about the People Power Revolution, the downfall of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, and the accession of Corazon C. Aquino as President.</p> <p>The polls were marred by electoral fraud as well as violence. The International Observer Delegation concluded that "the election of February 7 was not conducted in a free and fair manner." [7]</p> <p>By virtue of Resolution No. 38, the Batasang Pambansa proclaimed Marcos and former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Senate President Arturo Tolentino as the duly elected President and Vice-President after receiving the highest number of votes for their respective positions. [8] The opposition, headed by Corazón C. Aquino (the widow of assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr.) and former senator Salvador Laurel refused to accept the fraudulent results. The International Observer Delegation concluded that the proclamation was invalid, among other reasons, because the Batasan "ignored explicit provisions of the Philippine Electoral Code [Batas Pambansa Blg. 881] requiring that tampered or altered Election Returns be set aside during the final counting process, despite protests by representatives of the opposition party". [7]</p> <p>On 9 February, thirty computer programmers walked out of the COMELEC's electronic quick count at the Philippine International Convention Center, some fearing for their safety and seeking sanctuary in Baclaran Church. The technicians—whose protest was broadcast live on national television [9]—claimed that the Marcos camp had manipulated the election results.</p> <p>More reports of electoral fraud caused the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines to issue a statement condemning the elections; the United States Senate passed a resolution stating the same. This chain of events eventually led to the resignation of Marcos' Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, and Armed Forces Vice-Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos. Enrile and Ramos then secluded themselves in the military and police headquarters of Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame, respectively, leading to the People Power Revolution from 22–25 February 1986, which toppled the Marcos regime.</p> <p>On 24 March 1986, the Regular Batasang Pambansa passed a "people's resolution" signed by 150 lawmakers. The resolution nullified the election returns that proclaimed Marcos and Tolentino as the winners, and instead confirmed the victory of President Aquino and Vice-President and Prime Minister Laurel. [citation needed]</p> <p>The snap elections and its aftermath are dramatized in the 1988 film A Dangerous Life.</p> <p>-0-</p>
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			<p>February 8, 1986 BOTH SIDES CLAIM THEY ARE LEADING IN PHILIPPINE VOTE</p> <p>By SETH MYDANS, Special to the New York Times MANILA, Saturday, Feb. 8— Corazon C. Aquino claimed victory today in the Presidential election while President Ferdinand E. Marcos said only, "I probably have won."</p> <p>The official Government vote count, after coming to a near halt on the afternoon and night of Election Day Friday, began moving slowly ahead and put Mrs. Aquino in a slight lead in sketchy early returns.</p> <p>A respected poll-watching group that is relied on here to offer an independent assessment put Mrs. Aquino in the lead by a larger margin with more than a quarter of the vote recorded. Aquino Statement</p> <p>In a statement issued by her office, Mrs. Aquino said: "The trend is clear and irreversible. The people and I have won and we know it. Nothing can take our victory from us."</p> <p>"Mrs. Aquino plans to call on Marcos to arrange for an orderly transition of power," an Aquino spokesman said today. He said the call would be made "when the trend is irreversible, probably within the next 48 hours."</p> <p>A spokesman for the President called an urgent press conference at 3:30 A.M. to condemn Mrs. Aquino's statement and urged that no claims of victory be made until all returns are in. 'Systematic Harassment'</p> <p>At least 30 people were reported killed in Election Day violence amid widespread reports of vote fraud and intimidation at the polls.</p> <p>Senator Richard Lugar, the co-chairman of an official delegation of American observers, accused the Government today of trying to "shape the return" by reporting votes from areas where the President is strong while holding back on the results from Manila, where Mrs. Aquino has her heaviest support.</p> <p>"The Manila vote has been held down by systematic harassment," said the Indiana Republican. "My own political judgment is that the Government concluded the results from Manila would not be good." National Assembly's Role</p>
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			<p>Though he did not issue a victory statement like that of Mrs. Aquino, Mr. Marcos's supporters were claiming victory for him in private celebrations and on television, where one spokesman said the President had seen early counts and was expecting a victory margin of five million to seven million.</p> <p>Commenting on the election earlier in the day, Jaime Cardinal Sin, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila and the country's most influential churchman, called the election "a day of courage and hope." He made it clear earlier that he favored the candidacy of Mrs. Aquino. 'Do Not Be Provoked'</p> <p>"Whatever may have happened today, and what will still happen, don't be afraid," he said. "Don't be discouraged. Keep calm. Do not be provoked to violence."</p> <p>Many of Mrs. Aquino's backers have said they do not believe Mr. Marcos is prepared to concede if he is defeated. Some said today that his television reference to possible arrests added to their fears that reprisals would follow the election.</p> <p>Election Day itself was marked by numerous reports of violence and intimidation of voters. In many places, according to reports, poll watchers from Mrs. Aquino's party or from Namfrel literally clung to ballot boxes to try to prevent armed men from stealing or switching them.</p> <p>In many precincts, armed men forced Namfrel volunteers to flee.</p> <p>Rene Saguisag, a spokesman for Mrs. Aquino, called the election "the dirtiest we have ever had."</p> <p>Lieut. Gen. Fidel Ramos, who commands the constabulary troops who were assigned to control the voting, called it "the most peaceful election in recent memory."</p> <p>Photo of a monitor for the citizens' group protecting a ballot box (Reuters) http://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/08/world/both-sides-claim-they-are-leading-in-philippine-vote.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>February 11, 1986 MANILA ASSEMBLY MEETS TO DECIDE ELECTION OUTCOME By FRANCIS X. CLINES, Special to the New York Times</p>
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			<p>MANILA, Tuesday, Feb. 11— After three days of violence and widespread reports of vote-rigging, the Philippine presidential election was put to the National Assembly on Monday evening for certification. But within minutes, legislators began arguing over procedure, and their official vote count was postponed until today.</p> <p>Under the Philippine Constitution, the assembly is empowered to receive the unofficial vote count at any point after election day. It then has up to 15 days to affirm the tally's accuracy and declare a winner.</p> <p>Both President Ferdinand E. Marcos, whose forces dominate the National Assembly, and Corazon C. Aquino, the opposition candidate, have claimed victory. Appeal by Aquino</p> <p>At a news conference today, Mrs. Aquino appealed to "all friends of democracy and supporters of freedom abroad" not to "make the mistake, in the name of shortsighted self-interest, of coming to the support of our failing dictator."</p> <p>"May I also reassure the world that we mean to conclude this business as we began it, peacefully but determinedly," she said.</p> <p>"In this time of need," she added, "we will learn who our real friends are. Understand that we have won and will take power. Marcos is seeking constitutional respectability for his shameful electoral theft. In the name of democracy, we will not let him."</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino contends that she was honestly elected Friday but that attempts at fraud by the Marcos Government have blurred this and have continued beyond the ballot box, with disputed numbers now left to the National Assembly's judgment.</p> <p>There are two sets of unofficial figures. According to those compiled by the citizens' polling group known as Namfrel, Mrs. Aquino was leading by about 800,000 votes with more than 10 million counted by the group out of more than 20 million votes cast on Friday. Mr. Marcos was leading in the Government election commission's count by 450,000 of the 6 million that the commission had counted.</p> <p>But citing the conflicting unofficial returns has not proved a reliable way of measuring the race. So far, the drastically slow tallies of both the citizens' watch group and the Government commission suggest a close race, within 7 percentage points or less of difference.</p>
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			<p>The differences were similar on the vice presidential lines, although Mrs. Aquino's running mate, Salvador H. Laurel, was running relatively closer to his rival, Arturo M. Tolentino, in the Government tally. This fed speculation that a mixed Marcos-Laurel victory might be proclaimed by the assembly.</p> <p>As the nation watched the televised proceedings on Monday, House Speaker Nicanor Yniguez hammered down the gavel at 6:11 P.M. to signal the assembly's taking up its duty of officially canvassing the election.</p> <p>Outside the assembly, crowds gathered, demanding honesty of the politicians. Downtown, a man at an opposition rally was shot to death as he held a campaign sign across his chest. Awaiting Word From Washington</p> <p>At the presidential palace, Marcos advisers awaited a clear sign from Washington as to whether President Reagan agreed with some of his delegation of observers that the Government was seeking to slow down and manipulate the vote.</p> <p>Inside the assembly, people in the crowded gallery watched intently, yearning for a conclusive result to a contest still rife with reports of intimidation and fraud. When they tried partisan cheering, the Speaker sternly rapped his gavel.</p> <p>Within minutes of convening, the assembly members, after back-slapping one another in the glow of television lights, began their procedural wrangling. The official vote count was then put off for a day, just as the disputed ballot summaries were carried into the chamber under guard.</p> <p>"Still more cheating is possible, right here on the floor," said Aquilino Pimentel, a strategist for the opposition led by Mrs. Aquino.</p> <p>Arturo Pacificador, the majority leader for the Marcos forces, said of Mrs. Aquino, "She's outvoted, so how can she win?" A New Chapter</p> <p>He said he was speaking of the popular vote rather than the opposition's minority status in the assembly. But a new challenge for Mrs. Aquino was looming in the parliamentary struggle over the canvass.</p>
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			<p>This is the constitutional step designed to be a simple affirmation of the unofficial vote count. But with rival unofficial counts still in considerable disagreement, the assembly process seemed to open a new chapter in the nation's electoral ordeal.</p> <p>Charges of violence and fraud that marked the election seem likely to be debated, with possibly months of appeals of any assembly decision to follow. If the ostensible canvass numbers go against Mrs. Aquino, her task will be to prove fraud well enough to sway some of the two-thirds majority through which Mr. Marcos usually controls the assembly, formally known as the Batasang Pambansa.</p> <p>The assembly is usually considered a reliable part of President Marcos's political machine, with 124 of the 192 members supporting his ruling party. In the canvass, it serves as the official judge, accepting or rejecting election numbers from the nation's 147 reporting districts.</p> <p>"The people will watch the Batasang's every move," Mrs. Aquino told a rally Monday in the Makati district</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/11/world/manila-assembly-meets-to-decide-election-outcome.html</p> <p>-0- February 14, 1986 AQUINO IS WARNING OF DIRECT ACTION</p> <p>By SETH MYDANS, Special to the New York Times MANILA, Feb. 13— Corazon C. Aquino, warning that the Philippines faced a "prolonged political crisis," indicated today that the opposition was considering some form of direct action to make "the will of the people heard."</p> <p>In a statement, Mrs. Aquino, the opponent of President Ferdinand E. Marcos in the unresolved presidential election, said the crisis "will probably at this stage only be resolved by a wider political exercise that enables democracy to be heard."</p> <p>She did not say what tactics the opposition might use, but her supporters said they had been considering calling for demonstrations or possibly even acts of civil disobedience to try to force the hand of President Marcos.</p>
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			<p>Assembly Tabulating Vote Meanwhile, the National Assembly began tabulating returns from the election last Friday.</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino said she did not believe the Assembly's vote count would reflect the will of the people. Mr. Marcos said he would abide by the results of the count and appealed for calm and national reconciliation.</p> <p>With a special envoy from President Reagan, Philip C. Habib, on his way to Manila, the battle lines appeared to be drawn between Mr. Marcos, who was widely expected to be proclaimed the winner by the National Assembly, and Mrs. Aquino, who has said she is prepared to take her protest to the streets. Says Voters Were Defrauded</p> <p>Saying she believed a credible count was beyond the ability of the legislature, she said through a spokesman, "It is clear that there will not necessarily be a quick resolution of the crisis that is acceptable to the people."</p> <p>She said she would call public meetings to give expression to the "political will" of the people, who she said had been defrauded by a manipulated tabulation of their votes.</p> <p>In a television address to the nation, Mr. Marcos appealed for calm, saying he would abide by the declared result of the election. "I extend my hand in conciliation and brotherhood to my opponents in the recent elections," he said.</p> <p>"I forgive all those who have hurt or attacked me, and I have no feeling of vindictiveness in my heart," he said. "I don't want any violence in the streets, although we are prepared for them."</p> <p>The National Assembly adjourned its first day of tabulation with 58 of 140 provincial and municipal canvasses counted. It was scheduled to resume on Friday. Assembly Puts Marcos Ahead</p> <p>It put Mr. Marcos in the lead with 53 percent of the vote to 47 percent for Mrs. Aquino. Mr. Marcos's vice presidential candidate, Arturo M. Tolentino, led Salvador H. Laurel by a similar margin.</p> <p>Although the tabulation of votes and the parliamentary procedures of the Assembly were following legal forms, there have been widespread accusations of fraud and vote manipulation in the election.</p>
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			<p>People in both parties agree in private conversation that since Mr. Marcos has control of the nation's legal procedures, the outcome of the parliamentary count is likely to reflect his desires.</p> <p>"When the opportunity for a quick, honest and full vote count had passed, our country was inevitably embarked on a prolonged political crisis," Mrs. Aquino said.</p> <p>"The current chasm between the count and the expression of the people's will at the ballot box last week will probably at this stage only be resolved by a wider political exercise that enables democracy to be heard," she said. "By this I do not mean another election but a process which enables the political system to respond to the real will of the people." Catholic Bishops Meeting</p> <p>A conference of Roman Catholic bishops was meeting today to draft its position on the election, and some priests involved said the church was considering the possibility of endorsing civil disobedience as a response to what might be judged a fraudulent election result.</p> <p>"My concern is to insure that the expression of the political will through the meetings that I shall call continues to be peaceful," Mrs. Aquino said.</p> <p>In this period of search for a national consensus outside the vote counting process by which mr. Marcos has said he would abide, Mrs. Aquino called on the President to abdicate his office.</p> <p>"Although I again urge my opponent to concede, I recognize his reluctance to do so," she said. "Therefore, I propose that in the national interest my opponents steps down from the office of the President until this matter is settled." Marcos Supporters Preparing</p> <p>Mr. Marcos's own supporters, meanwhile, were preparing for the Assembly to proclaim him the winner, although they seemed uncertain whether this might come Friday or later.</p> <p>Some said they believed the President would want to be proclaimed on Friday, which is Valentine's Day. That is a special day for his wife, Imelda, and is a date that is a multiple of seven, which the President considers one of his lucky numbers.</p> <p>A program of demonstrations or civil disobedience would bring Mrs. Aquino's supporters closer in their tactics to leftist organizations that formally did not take part in the election.</p>
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			<p>Leftist groups that are influenced to varying degrees by Communists had called for a boycott of the election, which was satirized in a song at a rally as "a pre-cooked meal by Reagan." Leftists Caught Up in Campaign</p> <p>But even the left was affected by a wave of support for Mrs. Aquino during the campaign, and leaders of the leftist umbrella organization Bayan did not complain about widespread voting by their members.</p> <p>But these leaders, including the organizer of the recent Bayan rally, Leandro Alejandro, said they foresaw that Mr. Marcos would maintain his grip on power and that they would be the beneficiaries of widespread frustration among his opponents.</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino has stated, "I am not a Communist, never was a Communist and never will be a Communist."</p> <p>But both leftist and moderate opposition leaders have warned that a victory by Mr. Marcos that is perceived to be fraudulent could drive large portions of the population to the left.</p> <p>Deprived of the levers of legal and governmental power that Mr. Marcos is using against her, these leaders say, Mrs. Aquino has little choice but to turn to the streets and to tap the mass appeal that fueled her political candidacy. Question of the Military</p> <p>A major question mark in the resolution of the growing impasse is the Philippine military, which Mr. Marcos himself has said is seriously divided.</p> <p>A group of younger officers was hampered during the election campaign by senior officers in attempts to hold large prayer rallies calling for clean elections.</p> <p>The President has retained the armed forces Chief of Staff, Gen. Fabian C. Ver, despite strong American pressure to remove him. The general, who is a cousin and confidant of Mr. Marcos, has had control of the military during the election.</p> <p>His deputy, Lieut. Gen. Fidel C. Ramos, had technically had command of troops involved in the election, and there appeared to be some differences between them over their command responsibilities.</p>
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			<p>"We have the evidence, and we would like to present it in court after this is all over," he said.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos said he had "no doubt at all" that he had won the election. Diverges From Earlier Counts</p> <p>When the National Assembly adjourned tonight, its count, which did not jibe with any of a half-dozen earlier tabulations, gave the President a lead of 1.4 million votes with 1.6 million votes remaining to be counted.</p> <p>After last Friday's voting, early returns were first tabulated by unofficial "quick counts." Ballot boxes containing summary tallies from the election districts went to the Assembly for the official and legally binding count.</p> <p>The Assembly spent a few days wrangling over procedures and began counting Thursday. By law, the legislature certifies the count, and the certification can be challenged in a special presidential commission, which is also dominated by Marcos supporters.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos's running mate, Arturo M. Tolentino, was also leading Mr. Laurel in the vice presidential race, which is tallied separately. Wouldn't Serve With Marcos</p> <p>Mr. Laurel said in the interview that even if the count made him the winner, he would not serve in a government with Mr. Marcos, who he said could be elected only by a fraudulent count.</p> <p>He said he expected opposition legislators, who make up one-third of the Assembly, to walk out in protest sometime before the new president is proclaimed.</p> <p>Mr. Laurel said he was not certain which five of about 20 proposed forms of civil disobedience Mrs. Aquino had decided to call for. He said they might include such actions as nonpayment of taxes, work slowdowns and strikes.</p> <p>A special envoy from President Reagan, Philip C. Habib, is expected to arrive in Manila on Saturday and to meet with Mr. Marcos and Mrs. Aquino as well as representatives of the church. Bishops Urge People's Judgment</p>
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			<p>The bishops' statement today said individual citizens and communities, under the guidance of local churches, would have to make their own judgments about the election. The bishops said they would endorse any nonviolent protests the people decided on.</p> <p>The bishops said that half of their number had attended the conference, but that the statement reflected the feelings of most members.</p> <p>The most controversial part of the statement, they said, was an introduction that suggested that despite the election's fraudulence, it had demonstrated a choice by the people of Mrs. Aquino.</p> <p>The section said: "The people have spoken. Or have tried to. Despite the obstacles thrown in the way of their speaking freely, we, the bishops, believe that on the basis of our assessment as pastors of the recently concluded polls, what they attempted to say is clear enough."</p> <p>The statement condemned "systematic disenfranchisement of voters," and well as "widespread and massive vote buying," "tampering with election returns," and "intimidation, harassment, terrorism and murder."</p> <p>Members of the Marcos party called the statement rash and divisive. Marcos Backer Is 'Scared'</p> <p>"I am scared," Assemblyman Rafael Recto said. "If you read between the lines, they are asking for violence."</p> <p>Mr. Marcos in his television interview warned of retaliation.</p> <p>"Well, there are certain legitimate actions we can take," he said. "Anybody that violates the law can be charged in court. If for instance they block movement of goods or they stop transport, things like that, there are powers of the state that can be utilized."</p> <p>At another point he said: "Civil war? We can handle anything they throw at us. But we are adopting a policy of maximum tolerance. We are trying to avoid a confrontation."</p> <p>Mr. Marcos also spoke of a "smear campaign" by the American press and some American "bureaucrats," saying, "These things about my medals, my guerrilla organization, unexplained wealth, and this hidden wealth in the United States, all of these are false."</p>
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			<p>Asked near the end of the interview about Haiti's former President, Jean-Claude Duvalier, who was forced to flee his country, Mr. Marcos laughed and said: "Don't compare me with Duvalier. Let's lay even money on this. Why don't we bet on it? This is the biggest joke that I have heard so far." ----</p> <p>Envoy to Bonn Resigns MANILA, Feb. 14 (UPI) - The Philippine Ambassador to West Germany has resigned over the conduct of last week's election, becoming the third prominent diplomat to quit in a month.</p> <p>In a letter to President Marcos dated Wednesday, the Ambassador, Ramon V. del Rosario, said he believed that the "people's will" had been "wantonly subverted" by "massive vote buying and terrorism" in the election. His letter was published in several independent Manila newspapers today.</p> <p>Acting Foreign Minister Pacifico Castro confirmed the resignation but denounced it as "hypocritical" because Mr. del Rosario, 67 years old, had a week earlier submitted a resignation to become effective in August.</p> <p>Photo of Ricardo Cardinal Vidal (Agence France-Presse); Photo of election ballot boxes being carried from the floor of the National Assembly as it adjourned in Manila (AP)</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/15/world/philippine-bishops-assail-vote-fraud-and-urge-protest.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>February 17, 1986</p> <p>AQUINO PROPOSES NONVIOLENT MOVES TO DEPOSE MARCOS</p> <p>By SETH MYDANS, Special to the New York Times</p> <p>MANILA, Feb. 16— Corazon C. Aquino, claiming victory in the Philippine presidential election, announced a program of strikes and boycotts today that she said would be the start of a nonviolent campaign to bring down the Government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos, speaking a day after the National Assembly proclaimed him the winner of an election marked by widespread fraud and violence, said he expected his opponent's protests to "die on the vine."</p> <p>"I am the President," he said. "They are not going to drive me out, because the people are behind me." General Ver Is Replaced</p>
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			<p>At a news conference held while Mrs. Aquino was addressing a rally of hundreds of thousands of people, Mr. Marcos also announced he had accepted the resignation of Gen. Fabian C. Ver as Chief of Staff of the armed forces.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos said the general, a cousin and close aide whose removal has been urged by the United States, would be replaced by his deputy, Lieut. Gen. Fidel C. Ramos. But he was vague about when General Ramos would take the post, raising questions about the effective date of General Ver's resignation.</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino's announcement, which came a day before President Reagan's special envoy, Philip C. Habib, is to meet with her and with Mr. Marcos, was more moderate than many of her supporters had expected. A Seven-Part Program</p> <p>She outlined a seven-part program of resistance to Mr. Marcos's Government, a program that she said would grow "if Goliath refuses to yield."</p> <p>It includes a one-day nationwide work stoppage and cancellation of classes on the first working day after Mr. Marcos's inauguration, which is to occur in 10 days. Mrs. Aquino also called for a boycott of seven major banks controlled by Marcos friends, a boycott of Government-influenced news outlets, delayed payments of electric and water bills, and a boycott of a department store and a food-and-beverage conglomerate that are associated with the Government.</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino also said she would address the nation for 15 minutes each night if she could find a radio station that would let her, and she called on people to "experiment with nonviolent forms of protest."</p> <p>Addressing Government workers, police officers and soldiers, she said, "Do not support a government that is not supported by the people." She did not call on them to take drastic action, but said, "It is not against the law of man or God to disobey unjust orders."</p> <p>At his news conference, which was shown repeatedly on Government television, Mr. Marcos said, "We will let them do whatever she wants to do, provided that they do not start violence or prevent the entry of goods into the markets here, or they do not violate any of the laws like blocking traffic and harassing merchants, things like that."</p>
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		<p>He presented his assertion of victory as an accomplished fact and dismissed Mrs. Aquino's protests as the complaints of a "poor loser."</p> <p>"You're beating a dead horse if you are talking about people supporting me or not," he said. "To me, this is over."</p> <p>Speaking later on the CBS News program "Face the Nation," Mr. Marcos said: "This is ridiculous. This is foolish. Why should I step down? We have won a mandate. I'm not a dictator. I'm not unwanted." Marcos View of Habib Mission</p> <p>At his news conference, he said Mr. Reagan "has been wrongly informed," and added, "I intend to see to it that the correct information reaches him."</p> <p>He was alluding to a statement on Saturday in which Mr. Reagan said the election had been "marred by widespread fraud and violence perpetrated largely by the ruling party." Earlier Mr. Reagan had suggested that both sides might have been involved in fraud.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos said he believed that Mr. Habib had come to Manila because of confusion in the information reaching Mr. Reagan from the Philippines.</p> <p>Calling Mr. Habib "very incisive and very much his own man," Mr. Marcos added, "I think Ambassador Habib will probably bring to Washington, to the President, the best kind of information that he can obtain from both parties."</p> <p>Mr. Habib made no public statements today and was said to have spent the day with Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth and other embassy officials.</p> <p>With the full powers of government still firmly in the hands of Mr. Marcos, Mrs. Aquino's options are limited. Her advisers said there had been sharp debate within her inner circle over how strong her actions should be, and some of her supporters said they felt her statement today was too mild. 'One Step at a Time'</p> <p>An adviser described Mrs. Aquino's approach as "one step at a time, see how it goes."</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino can rely on the support of the Roman Catholic Church, which last week condemned Mr. Marcos's victory as fraudulent and endorsed nonviolent action. But her exclusion from possible</p>
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			<p>forums for protest was underscored by the lack of television coverage of her rally today at a park in central Manila.</p> <p>Many in the crowd wore yellow, her campaign color, and waved yellow flags and chanted Mrs. Aquino's name. The crowd appeared to be as large as the one at Mrs. Aquino's final pre-election rally, which was estimated variously at half a million to a million.</p> <p>Advisers to Mrs. Aquino said she addressed the rally today earlier than planned because of fears of violence by Mr. Marcos's supporters.</p> <p>Mrs. Aquino told the crowd: "Our struggle is not a simple political struggle. It is a struggle against the forces of evil. We should only remember that what we should do should be peaceful and should not be accompanied by violence."</p> <p>Saying "we have a long struggle ahead of us," Mrs. Aquino told her followers, "If you are with me and if Goliath refuses to yield, we shall keep dipping into our arsenal of nonviolence and escalate our nonviolent struggle." Timing of General's Resignation</p> <p>In making his long-awaited announcement of General Ver's resignation, Mr. Marcos did not explain the timing of the move. But it appeared clear that the general had played an essential role during the election, and that his subsequent removal was intended to satisfy an American demand.</p> <p>At his news conference, Mr. Marcos announced that "upon my proclamation as the President-elect, General Ver has submitted his resignation, and I have accepted it."</p> <p>"In the meantime," the President added, "the acting Chief of Staff will be Lieutenant General Ramos."</p> <p>But when questioned further at the news conference and in the television interview, he said General Ramos could not become acting Chief of Staff before the resolution of an accusation that he covered up the military's role in the killing of 27 farmers at a human rights rally in September.</p> <p>The President also left it unclear how long General Ramos would serve as acting Chief of Staff and whether he or someone else would subsequently become the permanent military chief.</p>
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			<p>The President said General Ver might remain a civilian consultant to the military leadership, and he left open the possibility that the general might remain the head of the National Intelligence and Security Authority, the nation's intelligence network.</p> <p>Whatever General Ver's future position, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile said after the news conference that the general would be out of the military chain of command and no longer in a position to issue direct military orders.</p> <p>Mr. Marcos expressed irritation when asked at the news conference and again in the television interview about General Ver's future role. 'A Little Degrading'</p> <p>"I am sadly humiliated because we seem to be just receiving orders from you, including the appointment of the Chief of Staff of our armed forces," he said in the interview. "Isn't it a little degrading? Have you ever done this to another country, dictate to them who the Chief of Staff is?"</p> <p>The United States has pressed for the removal of General Ver since he was indicted on a charge of involvement in the 1983 assassination of Mr. Marcos's chief political rival, Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the husband of Corazon Aquino.</p> <p>General Ver has been viewed as a symbol of the corruption and favoritism that are said to have debilitated the Philippine armed forces in the face of a growing Communist insurgency.</p> <p>The general took a leave of absence during the trial, and when he was reinstated after his acquittal in December, Mr. Marcos hinted strongly that he would be removed before the presidential election.</p> <p>But in the last days of the campaign, General Ver was put in charge of troops assigned to monitor the voting, a high-profile position that indicated the President's reliance on him.</p> <p>During the campaign, Mr. Marcos cited divisions in the military between supporters of General Ver and General Ramos as a reason to delay any major personnel move. Today he said General Ver "has probably been able to accomplish" an end to military factionalism. Cites Future of U.S. Bases</p> <p>In his television interview, Mr. Marcos renewed a veiled threat to reconsider the presence of American military bases here if Washington cuts aid on the grounds that the election was manipulated.</p>
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			<p>"If that happens, we'll have to talk about renegotiating the bases," he said. "The military balance is more important than what we are quarreling about right now - fraud, violence and the like."</p> <p>An aid cutoff "may mean that you don't want us as allies any more," Mr. Marcos said. "It may mean you don't want the bases here anymore."</p> <p>The President denied a report that he had been secretly sworn in late Saturday night, after the National Assembly proclaimed him the winner, and had not waited for a public inauguration 10 days after the proclamation.</p> <p>In the television interview Mr. Marcos also said he was personally threatened by Communist forces, indicating that he might use such a threat as a pretext for a future crackdown.</p> <p>"I'm still afraid for my life, up to now," he said. "There is an active assassination plot and I think it's going to be executed, or they will try to implement it, by the New People's Army." The New People's Army is the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines.</p> <p>Photos of Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador H. Laurel greeting supporters at rally in Rizal Park, Manila (AP)</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/17/world/aquino-proposes-nonviolent-moves-to-depose-marcos.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>U.S. IS SAID TO OFFER PROTECTION TO AQUINO Special to the New York Times A United States Senator said today that the United States Navy had made available a ship for Corazon C. Aquino should she be forced to flee or need protection in the current Philippine situation. Senator John Melcher, a Montana Democrat, said he... February 22, 1986, Sunday</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>CHALLENGE TO MARCOS: FILIPINOS ABROAD WATCH AND WAIT AP The Consul at the Philippine Embassy in London today called on President Ferdinand E. Marcos to resign and hand over the Government to Corazon C. Aquino, his challenger in the presidential election Feb. 7. "We withdraw our support for Mr....</p>
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			<p>February 23, 1986, Monday</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>MORE PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATS QUIT MARCOS SIDE By MICHAEL NORMAN Additional numbers of Philippine diplomats in key foreign and United States posts broke with the Marcos Government yesterday, declaring their support for opposition leaders and Corazon C. Aquino. At the Philippine Mission to the United Nations,...</p> <p>February 24, 1986, Tuesday</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>REBELS INAUGURATE AQUINO AS PRESIDENT By CLYDE HABERMAN, Special to the New York Times As far as Corazon C. Aquino was concerned, this was the day she took office and Ferdinand E. Marcos became the rebel. Mrs. Aquino was sworn in this morning as president in the provisional government declared by military men opposed to Mr. Marcos....</p> <p>February 24, 1986, Tuesday</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>February 26, 1986</p> <p>SHULTZ PRAISES 'PEACEFUL TRANSITION' IN PHILIPPINES</p> <p>By GERALD M. BOYD, Special to the New York Times WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Feb. 26— The Reagan Administration moved quickly Tuesday to recognize the new Government of Corazon C. Aquino.</p> <p>At the same time, the Administration praised what it called the peaceful manner in which Ferdinand E. Marcos had relinquished his 20-year rule as President of the Philippines.</p> <p>The Administration had issued a statement Monday urging Mr. Marcos to resign. Tuesday, Secretary of State George P. Shultz welcomed the new Government only hours after Mr. Marcos, his family and other associates fled the presidential palace in Manila aboard United States helicopters. Administration's Involvement</p>
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			<p>official said, "We recognize Aquino as the officially consulted government, period, based on de facto reality." 'Realities on the Ground'</p> <p>Another State Department official said of United States recognition: "The U.S. is making its statement based on the realities on the ground."</p> <p>Shortly before 10 A.M. Tuesday, about two hours after Mr. Marcos's departure from the palace, Mr. Shultz appeared in the White House briefing room and read a statement that praised both Mrs. Aquino and Mr. Marcos.</p> <p>"We pay special tribute to her for her commitment to nonviolence, which has earned her the respect of all Americans," Mr. Shultz said.</p> <p>"The new Government has been produced by one of the most stirring and courageous examples of the democratic process in modern history. We honor the Filipino people.</p> <p>"The United States stands ready, as always, to cooperate and assist the Philippines as the Government of President Aquino engages the problems of economic development and national security."</p> <p>One senior Administration official said he believed Mrs. Aquino would form a "centrist government," although there were elements on the left that had been involved in her party. He said the Administration believed that her statements had been "pretty middle-of-the-road" and that she had made good appointments by naming former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Lieut. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, the deputy chief of staff, to her administration. Praise for Marcos</p> <p>Mr. Shultz also applauded Mr. Marcos for stepping aside and called him a friend of the United States.</p> <p>"We praise the decision of President Marcos," Mr. Shultz said. "Reason and compassion have prevailed in ways that best serve the Filipino nation and people.</p> <p>"In his long term as President, Ferdinand Marcos showed himself to be a staunch friend of the United States. We are gratified that his departure from office has come peacefully, characterized by the dignity and strength that have marked his many years of leadership."</p>
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			<p>Echoing that sentiment in response to a question later, Mr. Shultz added that "as we assess the overall picture and we assess his role in the Philippines over a long period of time, he has been a constructive force."</p> <p>"And as he continues on his life, we wish him to have a life of dignity and honor," he said.</p> <p>Mr. Speakes said Mr. Reagan had insisted during the meeting with Mr. Laxalt on Monday that the United States guarantee Mr. Marcos "his peace, his safety and his dignity." The two have met on several occasions, including once while Mr. Reagan was President. Reagan Avoid Direct Contact</p> <p>Throughout the crisis, Mr. Reagan avoided direct contact with Mr. Marcos, leaving emissaries, United States embassy personnel and statements issued through the White House to convey his positions. Asked about Mr. Reagan's decision not to talk with Mr. Marcos, a senior Administration official said Tuesday: "It just wouldn't have worked. It would have been two old friends and they would have gotten into a debate. Other people could deliver the message more easily."</p> <p>Although the United States Congress has not ratified a formal extradition treaty with the Philippines, Mr. Shultz said the question of returning Mr. Marcos to his homeland in the event that he settles in the United States was not under consideration.</p> <p>Mr. Shultz said the offer of a "safe haven" for Mr. Marcos should be respected. He added that the offer was given to members of Mr. Marcos's family and his close associates, including Gen. Fabian C. Ver, Chief of Staff of the armed forces under Mr. Marcos.</p> <p>In addition, Mr. Shultz suggested that Mrs. Aquino might not seek to return Mr. Marcos to the Philippines for legal action, noting that she has consistently called for reconciliation and nonviolence in her public statements.</p> <p>"And among her impressive characteristics is a very deep personal religious conviction," he added. "And I think out of this comes this sense of the importance of nonviolence and perhaps compassion." A Marcos Stay in Guam</p> <p>Aides to Mr. Reagan said Mr. Marcos was to remain in Guam at least for a few days and was to receive treatment at the United States Naval Medical Center. The 68-year-old leader reportedly suffers from a kidney ailment.</p>
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<p>Philippines 1992</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>Miriam refused to concede victory to her opponent, and instead filed an election protest with the Presidential Electoral Tribunal, which is also the Philippine Supreme Court.</p> <p>Santiago announced via fax late Friday that she would check into a Quezon City hospital today to "fast indefinitely, to the death if necessary," to protest the official count. Santiago announced her fast hours after a "mass demonstration" that she had called outside the official counting hall drew few followers. It was her third poorly attended protest rally this week.</p>	<p>Election date: May 11, 1992 Winner: Fidel V. Ramos, Lakas Runner-up candidate: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, People's Reform Party (PRP)</p> <p>In the presidential election, retired general Fidel Ramos of Lakas-NUCD won a six-year term as President, by a small margin, narrowly defeated populist candidate Miriam Defensor Santiago of People's Reform Party.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>May 15, 1992 2 Big-Party Candidates Concede in Manila</p>

			<p>MANILA, May 14— The presidential nominees of two of the largest political parties in the Philippines conceded defeat today as partial returns continued to show a tight race between a pair of candidates from outside traditional politics.</p> <p>The battle between the front-runners -- former Defense Minister Fidel V. Ramos and a former immigration chief, Miriam Defensor Santiago -- seemed unlikely to be decided for several more days because of a glacially slow vote count.</p> <p>Both candidates have claimed victory in the race to succeed President Corazon C. Aquino, who did not seek a second term. Unofficial, partial vote counts gave Mr. Ramos, who has Mrs. Aquino's endorsement, and Mrs. Santiago, an anti-corruption crusader, 20 percent to 25 percent of the vote each.</p> <p>Concessions were made by the House Speaker, Ramon Mitra, whose Struggle of the Democratic Filipino Party is the nation's largest, and Vice President Salvador Laurel, the presidential nominee of the Nacionalista Party.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/15/world/2-big-party-candidates-concede-in-manila.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Ramos Widens Lead in Philippine Election : Vote count: With the Aquino-backed candidate far ahead, a combative opponent vows a hunger strike in protest. May 23, 1992 BOB DROGIN TIMES STAFF WRITER</p> <p>MANILA — Twelve days after ballots were cast, administration candidate Fidel V. Ramos appeared to hold a commanding lead today in the still-unresolved Philippine presidential race, but the tedious count is raising concerns over the integrity of the result.</p> <p>With 55% of precincts reporting, the West Point-educated former defense secretary had widened his lead to more than 860,000 votes over business tycoon Eduardo Cojuangco Jr. and combative anti-graft candidate Miriam Defensor Santiago in the seven-person field. Sen. Joseph Estrada, a former film star, held a strong lead in the separate race for vice president. Vincente Sotto, a professional comedian, continued to top the Senate race.</p> <p>But in a bizarre bid to dramatize her still-unproven charges that she is being cheated of victory, Santiago announced via fax late Friday that she would check into a Quezon City hospital today to "fast indefinitely, to the death if necessary," to protest the official count. The former immigration</p>
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			<p>subtraction of votes from the real winner, and the simultaneous addition of her subtracted votes to the column of votes for her rival.</p> <p>Miriam refused to concede victory to her opponent, and instead filed an election protest with the Presidential Electoral Tribunal, which is also the Philippine Supreme Court. She mortgaged her law office to pay for the judicial fees.</p> <p>http://www.senate.gov.ph/senators/sen_bio/santiago_bio.asp</p>
<p>Philippines 1998</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>House Speaker Jose de Venecia, conceded defeat in the race to succeed President Fidel Ramos. Mr. De Venecia congratulated Mr. Estrada as members of Congress cheered loudly.</p>	<p>Election date: May 11, 1998 Winner: Joseph Estrada, LAMMP Runner-up candidate: Jose de Venecia, Lakas</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>May 30, 1998 Philippine Congress Affirms Ex-Actor As New President</p> <p>MANILA, May 29— The Congress of the Philippines today declared Joseph Estrada, a college dropout who became a very successful B-movie actor before entering politics, the winner of presidential elections.</p> <p>The declaration came 18 days after the vote on May 11 and a day after Mr. Estrada's main rival, House Speaker Jose de Venecia, conceded defeat in the race to succeed President Fidel Ramos. Mr. De Venecia congratulated Mr. Estrada as members of Congress cheered loudly.</p> <p>Mr. Estrada, who is currently Vice President, called the proclamation a "triumph of Philippine democracy."</p> <p>Normally, Congress spends weeks verifying the returns in the presidential and vice presidential races before proclaiming the victors. In the last election, in 1992, Mr. Ramos was declared the winner after nearly a month of disputes.</p> <p>Mr. Estrada gained a devoted following, particularly among the country's poor, during his decades portraying tough guys who stood up to injustice. He parlayed his popularity into a successful political career, first as mayor of a Manila suburb, then as a Senator and Vice President.</p>

			<p>The general elections were among the Philippines' most peaceful ever, although at least 45 people were killed.</p> <p>Mr. Estrada, whose inauguration is set for June 30, says he will continue most of President Ramos's policies but will focus on helping the poor and developing the country's agriculture. He has also pledged to crack down on official corruption and solve the country's severe crime problem within six months.</p> <p>According to the tabulation by Congress, Mr. Estrada led the presidential race with 10.7 million votes. Mr. De Venecia, the administration's candidate, was a distant second, with 4.3 million.</p> <p>In the vice presidential race, the administration candidate, Sen. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, an economist and daughter of former President Diosdado Macapagal, had 12.6 million votes. Mr. Estrada's running mate, Sen. Edgardo Angara, got 5.6 million.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/30/world/philippine-congress-affirms-ex-actor-as-new-president.html</p>
<p>Philippines 2004</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>Mr. Poe asked the Supreme Court to nullify Mrs. Arroyo's victory and declare him president, accusing her party of committing electoral fraud.</p>	<p>Election date: May 10, 2004 Winner: Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, Lakas, Runner-up candidate: Fernando Poe, Jr., KNP [The KNP was composed of the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (Struggle of Democratic Filipinos) or LDP, the Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan or PDP-LABAN, and the Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino (PMP)]</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>December 14, 2004</p> <p>Fernando Poe Jr., 65, Philippine Actor-Politician, Dies</p> <p>By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS MANILA, Tuesday, Dec. 14 - Fernando Poe Jr., the action film star and presidential candidate who refused to concede the election in May, died early Tuesday after suffering a stroke. He was 65.</p>

			<p>Mr. Poe died in St. Luke's Hospital, where he was rushed late Saturday after complaining of dizziness while dining and drinking with friends.</p> <p>He later slipped into a coma and died just after midnight, said his doctor, Abdias Aquino.</p> <p>Mr. Poe's wife, the actress Susan Roces, issued a statement thanking Filipinos for praying for her husband. "We are indebted to your being with him in the face of the challenges," she said.</p> <p>Mr. Poe's fellow actors, actresses and politicians from all walks of life rushed to the lobby of the hospital as the news of his death spread. Some cried as they went in.</p> <p>Mr. Poe, a political neophyte, had reluctantly agreed to become the main challenger to President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo in the election, on May 10. But he lost by 1.1 million votes.</p> <p>Two months later, though, Mr. Poe asked the Supreme Court to nullify Mrs. Arroyo's victory and declare him president, accusing her party of committing electoral fraud. Mrs. Arroyo's camp denied any wrongdoing and expressed confidence that the Supreme Court would eventually throw out Mr. Poe's protest.</p> <p>Mr. Poe, who starred in more than 200 films, was popular among impoverished Filipinos for his portrayals of fast-punching, underdog champions of the poor. He was a formidable opponent to Mrs. Arroyo even though his campaign suffered from disorganization and questions over his citizenship, which a court later resolved in his favor.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/14/international/asia/14poe.html?fta=y&_r=0</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Refusing to concede defeat, the second-placer in the elections, Mr. FPJ, filed seasonably an election protest before this Electoral Tribunal on July 23, 2004. Mrs. GMA, through counsel, filed her Answer with Counter Protest on August 5, 2004.</p> <p>Conformably then with the law, the rules and prevailing jurisprudence, this Tribunal finds no justifiable reason to grant the petition/motion for intervention and substitution.</p> <p>WHEREFORE, the motion of movant/intervenor JESUSA SONORA POE a.k.a. SUSAN ROCES to intervene and substitute for the deceased protestant is DENIED for lack of merit.</p>
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			<p>-0- http://www.philstar.com/author/Nikko%20Dizon?page=2</p>
<p>Philippines 2010</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Philippine's former President Joseph Estrada concedes defeat to Benigno Aquino III</p>	<p>Election date: May 10, 2010 Winner: Benigno AQUINO III, Liberal Runner-up candidate: Joseph ESTRADA, PMP</p> <p>-0- 15:01, June 09, 2010</p> <p>Philippine's former President Joseph Estrada concedes defeat to Benigno Aquino III Philippines' former President Joseph Estrada conceded on Wednesday defeat to Benigno Aquino III in Philippines' 2010 presidential election, shortly before the proclamation of the country's next President.</p> <p>In a letter that was read on his behalf by one of his sons in the Congress, Estrada said that he will "extend support to Aquino", and believes that Aquino has the mandate of the Filipino people. http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90777/90851/7019266.html</p> <p>-0- Former President Joseph Estrada extends "whole-hearted support" to President-elect Noynoy Aquino by Elyas Isabelo Salanga posted on June 9, 2010 Former President Joseph Estrada, through a statement read by his son Sen. Jinggoy Estrada, announced his support for the newly proclaimed president and vice president of the Philippines.</p> <p>The younger Estrada read the written speech of the former President before the proclamation of Noynoy Aquino and Jejomar Binay as the new President and Vice President, respectively, of the Philippines at the Batasang Pambansa earlier this afternoon, June 9. Erap is currently in London on vacation.</p> <p>Estrada was Noynoy's closest rival for the presidency in the last elections. The former President initially refused to concede defeat when the automated election results came out, saying that he would only do so when the joint session of Congress tally the results.</p>

			<p>When the joint session of Congress completed the tally yesterday, June 8, with Noynoy leading by more than five million votes, Estrada finally stood down and approved of Noynoy's win.</p> <p>"I humbly accept the final verdict...," Estrada said in his statement. "I sincerely offer my congratulations to my good friend and worthy opponent, President-elect Simeon Benigno Aquino III, on his impending proclamation as the duly elected president of the Republic of the Philippines."</p> <p>Aquino raked in 15.2 million votes or about 42 percent of the total votes, while Estrada ranked second with 9.5 million votes.</p> <p>With the end of the controversial and expected outcry of cheating in the elections, Estrada expressed his wish to have a united country follow the new President for the common good of the nation and topple the pillars of greed and corruption.</p> <p>He added that it is also time for real work to be done and "harness our collective energies to achieve real reforms in governance and in our democratic system."</p> <p>Estrada continued, "I am confident that President-elect Noynoy Aquino will fulfill his campaign promise to address the problem of corruption. I plead with him as well to wield the awesome powers of the presidency without fear or favor, and with the ultimate objective of uplifting the conditions of the poorest of the poor who are powerless and voiceless against the privileged elite."</p> <p>Erap, as the former President is also known, also debunked hearsay that he had a falling out with running mate Vice-President-elect Jejomar Binay with this words:</p> <p>"I join the Filipino people in extending my whole-hearted support to the 15th President of the Republic under whose leadership the country now looks to the future together with my running mate, Makati Mayor Jejomar Binay, with highest hopes that they will serve our country faithfully and honorably."</p> <p>http://www.pep.ph/celeb/parties/the-bulletin/22339/former-president-joseph-estrada-extends-whole-hearted-support-to-president-elect-noynoy-aquino</p> <p>-0- Erap concedes but wants fraud probe By Jose Rodel Clapano Updated June 10, 2010 - 12:00am</p>
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Sierra Leone 1996-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Sierra Leone 1996	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	John Karefa-Smart of the United National People's Party (UNPP) had 40% in the runoff vote and conceded defeat.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 15 March, 1996, second round <i>Winner:</i> Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, Sierra Leone People's Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> John Karefa-Smart, United National People's Party</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In early 1996, Kabbah was elected leader of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) and the party's presidential candidate in the 1996 presidential election. He was elected President of Sierra Leone in the 1996 presidential election with 59% of the vote defeating his closest rival John Karefa-Smart of the United National People's Party (UNPP) who had 40% in the runoff vote and conceded defeat. International observers declared the election free and fair. In his inauguration speech in Freetown, Kabbah promised to end the civil war, which he indeed achieved later in his presidency. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Tejan_Kabbah</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>He was elected President of Sierra Leone in the 1996 presidential election with 59% of the vote defeating his closest rival John Karefa-Smart who had 40% in the runoff vote and conceded defeat. http://news.sl/drwebsite/publish/printer_200524942.shtml http://www.globaltimes-sl.com/president-kabbah-dies-at-82/</p>
Sierra Leone 2002	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Ahmad Tejan Kabbah secured 74% of the valid votes cast, thereby exceeding the constitutionally required 55%. Ernest Bai Koroma immediately conceded defeat and straightaway proceeded to congratulate President Kabbah on his election victory.	<p><i>Election date:</i> 14 May 2002 <i>Winner:</i> Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, Sierra Leone People's Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Ernest Bai Koroma, All People's Congress</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Owing to erstwhile president Kabbah's extreme popularity nationwide, after he had announced that the rebel war or civil conflict was over after 11 years of bloody hostilities, on Friday, January 18, 2002, Sierra Leoneans voted en-masse or overwhelming for Ahmad Tejan Kabbah in the</p>

			<p>presidential and parliamentary elections, so much so that, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah secured 74% of the valid votes cast, thereby exceeding the constitutionally required 55%. There was no presidential election re-run or run-off.</p> <p>Upon announcement of the election results within 72 hours after the votes had been cast and the then Chief Electoral Commissioner and Chairperson of NEC, Walter Nicol, (now deceased), stated that the SLPP presidential candidate and flag bearer, erstwhile President, Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was the winner or victor by defeating the then APC party leader and presidential candidate and flag bearer, the then Honorable Ernest Bai Koroma. The latter immediately conceded defeat and straightaway proceeded to congratulate President Kabbah on his election victory. http://www.sierraleonewshunters.com/content/political-past-and-present-apc-ernest-bai-koroma-and-slpp-julius-maada-bio http://www.sierraleonewshunters.com/node/1418/backlinks</p>
<p>Sierra Leone 2007</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Solomon Berewa issued a statement conceding defeat in the interest of peace and stability.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 11 August 2007 <i>Winner:</i> Ernest Bai Koroma, All People's Congress (APC) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Solomon Berewa, Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Solomon Berewa Concedes Defeat to Ernest Bai Koroma in Sierra Leone. By Bampia James Bundu Sep 17, 2007, 19:00 Dr. Christiana Thorpe this morning announced that she and two of the five commissioners of the National Electoral Commission in Sierra Leone had decided to invalidate 426 polling stations in South East Sierra Leone, 6 in the Western Area and 45 in Northern Province. The two other Commissioners for East and South (Edward Nyalley and Winston Minah) walked out in protest as she announced Ernest Koroma of the APC as the newly elected President of Sierra Leone. Shortly after, Solomon Berewa issued a statement conceding defeat in the interest of peace and stability. The photographs of Koroma at Berewa's residence to formally accept congratulations are posted below. President Koroma has been sworn in and those pictures will soon follow. Stay tuned. http://news.sl/drwebsite/exec/view.cgi?archive=4&num=6516</p> <p>-0-</p>

			<p>Sierra Leone: Why Berewa Concedes Defeat BY ALHAJI JALLOH, 21 MAY 2008 INTERVIEW</p> <p>Leader of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party has broken silence saying he conceded defeat after the September 8, 2007 elections because he never wanted violence in a country that has suffered for far too long.</p> <p>In an exclusive interview with journalist Alhaji Jalloh, now Information Attaché designate to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Solomon Ekuma Berewa said: "I think it was necessary because Sierra Leone is just coming out of war. The tendency for violence to prevail was very great. I did not want people to die so I was quick to concede defeat as soon as the results were announced by the Electoral Commissioner."</p> <p>http://allafrica.com/stories/200805210915.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>The first official results, released by the NEC on September 10, showed Koroma well ahead with 64% of the vote against 36% for Berewa, based on results from slightly more than 20% of polling stations; however, officials said that these results came primarily from the west of the country, where the APC is stronger.[68][69] Thorpe emphasized the importance of an "atmosphere of calm" while votes are counted and results are released.[68] Koroma claimed victory, saying it was "not possible" for him to lose, but Reider of the SLPP accused him of "trying to steal victory" and said that according to the SLPP's figures, Berewa was in the lead. Reider was also strongly critical of a report from the EU's observers that alleged that the number of votes in parts of the south and east exceeded the number of registered voters there.[69]</p> <p>Results released on September 11, based on about 37% of polling stations, showed Koroma with about 60% of the vote and Berewa with about 40%.[70] With 50.8% of the vote counted on 12 September,[71] Koroma had about 58.5%; out of the country's 14 districts, Koroma and Berewa each led in seven of them. On the same day, Kabbah urged people to accept the final results when they are released, regardless of who is declared the winner.[72]</p> <p>Results released on September 13, with 76.1% of the vote counted, showed Koroma leading with 60.2% (859,144 votes) against 39.8% (567,449 votes) for Berewa. The APC's Alpha Kanu said that his party held an "unassailable lead" and was waiting for a concession from Berewa. [73] The</p>
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<p>Sierra Leone 2012</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Julius Maada Bio initially refused to concede defeat claiming ballot stuffing, rigging and intimidation of supporters. After some talks between president Koroma and Maada Bio, the later one conceded defeat.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 17 November 2012 <i>Winner:</i> Ernest Bai Koroma, All People's Congress (APC) <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Julius Maada Bio, Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>THE IMPERATIVE OF PEACE</p> <p>BY Mohamed Thullah</p>

			<p>The November 17 polls was endorsed by wide range elections observers including the European Union, Economic Community of West African States(ECOWAS) and local monitoring groups as being free, fair and transparent. Whilst the ruling All Peoples Congress(APC) are celebrating victory, the opposition whose flag bearer Rtd Brigadier Julius Maada Bio refused to accept defeat and concede defeat claiming ballot stuffing, rigging and intimidation of supporters. Elections are very complex, combining four separate polls presidential, parliamentary and both mayoral/chairmanship and councils forming the local councils.</p> <p>This was a unique experiment in Sierra Leone, Africa and the world at large. The campaigning itself was very intensive, wide ranging and volatile, pitting an allegedly a North western alliance where the ruling APC was dominant against the south and eastern region which largely favoured the opposition SLPP.</p> <p>While particularly the two presidential candidates worked very hard and spared no efforts to capture the golden crown, their supporters were very vociferous, expectant and often times provocative to each other building up great expectations from their respective leaderships. The die was therefore cast between the incumbent APC'S President Ernest Bai Koroma and Rtd. Brigadier Julius Maada Bio leaving very little room for maneuver and compromise.</p> <p>The victory of Ernest Bai Koroma therefore, while largely expected left a very sour taste in the mouths of the SLPP and its supporters which had convinced itself that it could defeat president Koroma and therefore built very big expectations in the process. The reaction of president Koroma victory can therefore be seen in this light, resulting in bitter quarrels in his leadership, including an alleged molestation of vice presidential candidate of the SLPP who dared to suggest acceptance of defeat in the elections and moving forward in the interest of the nation and the people. The hot heads prevailed in these internal squabbles initially leading to petitions of the elections results in court.</p> <p>The moral guarantors of the country which played a significant role in bringing the ten year old war to an end inter religious councils, international development partners, friends of Sierra Leone and luminaries of both parties did not however give up.</p> <p>The reported meeting between president Koroma and Maada Bio has finally broken the ice between the two groups, while those knowledgeable forces insist that in fact the two principal contenders had held earlier meetings in camera. The enthusiasm welcoming this breakthrough both within the country and internationally gives hope that sierra Leone has finally found a winning formula for a</p>
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			<p>progressive forward march under the leadership of president Ernest Bai Koroma hailed by many as a transformational and visionary leader who has succeeded in just five years in building a tremendous hope in the country and confidence in themselves for a bright and prosperous future.</p> <p>Amidst all of these happenings, critical readers may want to quiz the time factor of this move of the opposition and their role in the democratic dispensation of the country. In Africa for example, it is very rare for political opponents to concede defeat in elections as this was expected to have been demonstrated by the main opposition (SLPP) in the just concluded elections.</p> <p>Even though many believed the ruling APC won with a landslide victory on their remarkable achievements in the past five years, the main contender Julius Maada bio has given it a blind by refusing to accept the outcome of the polls. Majority sierra Leoneans were expecting Mr. Bio to have congratulated the president on his victory as demonstrated by former vice president Solomon Berewa after he lost in 2007.</p> <p>The SLPP as a party is allegedly claiming to have erudite politicians and these folks within I believe must have advised the retired brigadier to concede defeat and congratulated the president as captured in his words by addressing the president as ‘His Excellency’ and giving him a ‘standing ovation’. Ask me my view on this occasion I will tell you I was impressed seeing the two major contenders for the hot seat hugging and shaking hands after a long silence. This I strongly believe will strength our democratic ties and add to our democratic credentials as a nation.</p> <p>In the governance of the state, the opposition has a key role to making sure the ruling government perform and conform to democratic ideals. The SLPP as the main opposition has a moral responsibility in the development end progress of the country. This move, however, reinforces aptly its party motto as one country one people. The showcase of tolerance and reconciliation by the two major political parties has to be translated to their supporters/members to seeing themselves as one and working together for a better Sierra Leone. http://standardtimespress.org/?p=2996</p> <p>-0- ‘Maada Bio should concede defeat’ Says President of Patriotic Sierra Leonean Organisation Editor posted this in Blog, National News, Politics on November 27th, 2012 By Abdul Fonti</p> <p>President of Patriotic Sierra Leonean Organisation (PSL), Mohamed Kamarainba, has called on the defeated Flagbearer of the main opposition Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP), Rtd. Brigadier</p>
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			<p>Julius Maada Bio, to concede defeat and congratulate President Ernest Bai Koroma on his re-election.</p> <p>In an exclusive interview with AYV yesterday, Kamarainba emphasized that ‘Bio should not only send a peaceful message to his supporters as he has rightly done, but should also concede defeat’.</p> <p>“Equally, we look forward to seeing the President extend his olive branch to the losers, based on his earlier speech; to operate as a government of inclusion,” he disclosed.</p> <p>He advised the citizenry to work towards perfecting the system and refrain from trivializing the tenets of democracy.</p> <p>“We are aware that our democracy is not perfect and as such, we as a nation must seat down and reflect on our inadequacies and put mechanisms in place to polish and move Sierra Leone forward,” he said.</p> <p>Kamarainba used the forum as an opportunity to extend appreciation to Sierra Leoneans for keeping the peace throughout the electoral process.</p> <p>“We doff our hart to the security forces: Military Aid in Civil –Power (MAC-P), the Sierra Leone Police Force (SLPF), and the paramilitary outfits star-studded in keeping an atmosphere of calm,” he said.</p> <p>He further expressed appreciation to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) for conducting the multi-tier set up of elections with such a novelty.</p> <p>Political actors were also singled out by the Patriotic Sierra Leonean President for commendation.</p> <p>“We sense a wake of enthusiasm in us as Sierra Leoneans as we did converge early on polls and casted our ballots,” he noted, while congratulating President Koroma on his victory.</p> <p>“We’re craving on the indulgence of other political parties to accept the results. In any contest there must be a winner, but that should not warrant the losers to react using any means that will deflower the sacred will of the electorates,” he emphasized.</p> <p>He ended by suggesting that President Koroma organizes a dinner that will attract leaders of various political parties.</p>
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Sri Lanka 1996-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
<p>Sri Lanka 1994</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Palitha Pelpola, Mrs. Dissanayake's political secretary, conceded defeat. "We believe Mrs. Kumaratunga has won," she said.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 7 October 1994 <i>Winner:</i> Chandrika Kumaratunga, People's Alliance, 62.28% <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Shrima Dissanayake, United National Party, 35.91%</p> <p>President Ranasinghe Premadasa had been assassinated in 1993 by the Tamil Tigers and was succeeded by the Prime Minister Dingiri Banda Wijetunga. President Wijetunga chose not to run in the 1994 election therefore the United National Party selected Leader of the Opposition Gamini Dissanayake as their candidate. His main challenger was Prime Minister Chandrika Kumaratunga of the People's Alliance whose party had won the parliamentary elections earlier in 1994.[1]</p> <p>On 24 October 1994, during the presidential campaign, Gamini Dissanayake was assassinated by the Tamil Tigers. His name on the ballot paper was replaced by his wife Shrima Dissanayake.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>November 10, 1994 Sri Lankan Claims Victory in Presidential Vote</p> <p>COLOMBO, Sri Lanka, Thursday, Nov. 10— Prime Minister Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga headed for a sweeping victory today in a presidential election that she said was a referendum on the peace talks she began to end an 11-year war with Tamil rebels.</p> <p>Her supporters set off firecrackers in the streets to celebrate, defying a nationwide curfew imposed by the military on Wednesday night to stop bloody clashes between rival political groups that authorities said left two people dead.</p> <p>"The whole country has overwhelmingly endorsed the policies of the Government," said Justice Minister Lakshman Peiris in declaring victory for Mrs. Kumaratunga.</p> <p>With three-quarters of the eight million votes counted, Mrs. Kumaratunga, of the socialist People's Alliance, had more than 60 percent, state-run Rupavahini television reported. Her main rival, Srma</p>

		<p>Dissanayake, of the United National Party, had about 38 percent. Election officials said the turnout was relatively low -- about 75 percent.</p> <p>Palitha Pelpola, Mrs. Dissanayake's political secretary, conceded defeat. "We believe Mrs. Kumaratunga has won," she said.</p> <p>Mrs. Kumaratunga would be the first woman to serve as president, succeeding Dingiri Banda Wijetunge, of the United National Party. As Prime Minister, she promised to abolish the executive presidency and transfer powers to the Parliament and the Prime Minister.</p> <p>Mrs. Kumaratunga comes from a family of politicians: both her parents had been Prime Minister. Her husband, Vijaya, an actor turned politician, was shot dead by an assassin five years ago.</p> <p>Mrs. Kumaratunga's party won parliamentary elections three months ago after promising to open talks with Tamil rebels. That victory ended 17 years of rule by the United National Party.</p> <p>The talks were suspended after her main opponent, Gamini Dissanayake, was killed with more than 50 others at an election rally on Oct. 24 by a suicide bomber, apparently a Tamil rebel. Mr. Dissanayake's widow, Srimala, replaced him, but she failed to generate a wide sympathy vote and many party officials refused to campaign for her.</p> <p>Mrs. Kumaratunga had said a victory in the presidential election would be a mandate to push ahead with the talks.</p> <p>Hindu Tamils are the largest minority in Sri Lanka, where the Buddhist Sinhalese control the military, government and business. Tamils make up about 3 million of the country's 17 million people and accuse the majority Sinhalese of discrimination. The Tamil rebels want a separate nation in the north and east of this island off the tip of India. More than 40,000 people have been killed in the war.</p> <p>Tamil rebels struck again as the polls opened on Wednesday, attacking a military base 180 miles north of Colombo and killing three soldiers. Rebel casualties were not immediately known.</p> <p>Tens of thousands of police and soldiers were stationed throughout Sri Lanka, and the police reported about 100 fights between rival groups outside polling stations.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/10/world/sri-lankan-claims-victory-in-presidential-vote.html</p>
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<p>Sri Lanka 1999</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>In the middle of a 19 years civil war, and an suicidal explosion that killed several people in a rally held by the incumbent president, where the President lost an eye, it seems that there was a wave of support for the incumbent who won with 51% of the vote. It seems that the runner-up candidate did not rejected the results of the election.</p>	<p>Election date: 21 December 1999 Winner: Chandrika Kumaratunga, People's Alliance, 51.12% Runner-up candidate: Ranil Wickremasinghe, United National Party, 42.71%</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Victory and war in Sri Lanka</p> <p>Dec 23rd 1999 colombo From the print edition</p> <p>CHANDRIKA KUMARATUNGA, Sri Lanka's president, wanted a mandate to end the country's long-running civil war in her own way. She appears to have won it. On December 21st she defeated her rival, Ranil Wickremesinghe, in Sri Lanka's presidential election by winning 51% of the vote. Mr Wickremesinghe got 43%. She is now expected to press ahead with a constitutional package designed to win over the country's Tamil minority by giving more powers to the regions.</p> <p>It is not clear whether the election has improved the prospects for peace or worsened them. Though Mrs Kumaratunga has apparently consolidated her support among the Sinhalese majority, a gulf may have opened between her and the Tamils. A few days before the election a suicide bomber attacked her final rally, killing about two dozen people and slightly injuring her. The bomb seems to have been the work of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the guerrillas who control chunks of Sri Lanka's north and east and want to create a Tamil state there. Mrs Kumaratunga, who anyway had been less willing than her rival to negotiate with the Tigers, may now be more tempted to take a hard line. Ordinary Tamils, who backed the president in the 1994 election, seem to have defected to Mr Wickremesinghe this time. Mrs Kumaratunga's mandate thus looks a little one-sided. "The president will have to work very hard to convince the Tamil people she has something to offer," says Jayadeva Uyangoda, a political scientist at the University of Colombo.</p> <p>The bombing was not the election's only violent incident. A near-simultaneous explosion, also thought to be the work of the Tigers, killed about a dozen people at a rally for Mr Wickremesinghe. Several people were also killed in inter-party violence during the campaign and observers reported numerous incidents of ballot-box stuffing, intimidation of voters and other acts of electoral tampering. Most of the allegations were levelled at the ruling party. The monitors agreed that voting had been fair in most places, but seemed to disagree about how seriously the irregularities may have</p>
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			<p>compromised the result. The question now is whether the forces that gave Mrs Kumaratunga victory can also give Sri Lanka peace.</p> <p>From the print edition: Asia http://www.economist.com/node/270954?zid=309&ah=80dcf288b8561b012f603b9fd9577f0e</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>3.38 On 18 December 1999, shortly before Presidential elections, a woman suicide bomber detonated explosives strapped to her body at an election rally. The attack, which killed 21 people and injured 110, occurred shortly after President Kumaratunga had delivered a speech. The President suffered facial injuries from shrapnel, and it was later reported that she had been blinded in her right eye. Almost simultaneously a bomb at a rally elsewhere in Colombo, addressed by opposition leader Ranil Wickremasinghe, killed 12 people and injured 70. There was no claim of responsibility for either bombing, but both were widely assumed to have been the work of the LTTE. [23a]</p> <p>3.39 Three days later, President Kumaratunga was re-elected, after securing 51.12% of the vote for the People's Alliance. Her nearest rival was Ranil Wickremasinghe of the United National Party, with 42.71%. M.D.Nandana Gunathilaka of the People's Liberation Front received 4.08%. The election commissioner D.M. Dassanayake said that the turnout was 73.31% of the country's 11.77 million eligible voters, and that the conduct of the polling had been generally fair despite some 500 complaints of fraud. [23a][24] http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6b10.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>President Chandrika Kumaratunga won a second term in office in the December 1999 presidential elections amid a deadlock in political and military efforts to end Sri Lanka's 16-year-old civil war, and consensus estimates that economic growth for 1999 would be below the modest 4.7 percent rate achieved in 1998. [...] In 1998 and 1999, Kumaratunga failed to persuade the opposition to support proposed constitutional amendments aimed at ending the war by devolving power to new regional councils, including one in the contested north and east. The UNP and the influential Buddhist clergy rejected the plan, alleging it would lead to a Tamil state, and the PA itself was short of the two-thirds parliamentary majority required for constitutional amendments. In October 1999, Kumaratunga</p>
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			<p>called early presidential elections, which the government subsequently scheduled for December 21. On November 2, the LTTE began a major offensive that recaptured large areas in the Vanni the rebels had lost in the preceding two years, while causing several thousand villagers to flee their homes.</p> <p>Kumaratunga campaigned on a pledge to win approval of her proposed constitutional amendments. Her main opponent, Ranil Wickremasinghe of the UNP, promised to de-escalate the civil war fighting and called for unconditional peace negotiations with the LTTE. On December 18, a suspected LTTE suicide bomber killed at least 24 people and slightly wounded Kumaratunga at an election rally in Colombo, and another bomb at a UNP rally killed 12 people. At the December 21 elections, held under an estimated 73 percent turnout, Kumaratunga won 51.12 percent of the votes to defeat Wickremasinghe, who took 42.71 percent; 11 other candidates shared the remainder.</p> <p>http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/1999/sri-lanka#.U3tyvuD9RYY</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>In the 1999 election, Wickramasinghe was nominated as UNP's Presidential candidate. After a tense election campaign in the wake of the violent North Western Provincial Council election, the Tamil Tigers blasted a suicide bomb in an election campaign rally, in which President Kumaratunga lost her right eye. In the election held two days later 21 December 1999 amidst a wave of sympathy, Kumaratunga received 51% of the popular vote to be re-elected as Executive President.[5] The gap between Wickramasinghe and Kumaratunga was approximately 700,000 votes (6% of the valid votes). Kumaratunga was sworn in for her second term as President on 22 December 1999.</p> <p>After the loss of the 1999 presidential elections, Wickremasinghe unsuccessfully led his party in the 2000 parliamentary elections, again losing out to the PA.</p> <p>http://www.jcalawathuwala.com/ranil-wickremasinghe/</p>
<p>Sri Lanka 2005</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>The main dispute in this presidential election was over if the election was in 2005 or 2006. The president claims that the next election is not due until December 2006 because she called the previous poll early and was officially sworn into office in 2000, not 1999.</p>	<p>Election date: 7 September 2005 Winner: Mahinda Rajapaksa, United People's Freedom Alliance, 50.29% Runner-up candidate: Ranil Wickremesinghe, United National Party, 48.43%</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

		<p>The opposition United National Party (UNP) has disputed this extraordinary manoeuvre, which is without precedent in Sri Lanka.</p> <p>It seems that the runner-up candidate did not rejected the results of the election.</p>	<p>In December 2004 Wickramasinghe was chosen by the United National Party as its Presidential candidate for 2005 Presidential Elections due in late 2005. Mahinda Rajapaksa, then Prime Minister, was appointed as the Presidential candidate of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.</p> <p>In the Presidential Election, held on November 17, 2005, Wickramasinghe was defeated by Mahinda Rajapaksa gaining 50.29% of the vote, while Wickramasinghe gained 48.43%. He remains the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament.</p> <p>http://www.priu.gov.lk/PrimeMinister/formerprimeministers.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>The tragedy is that the party has not exhausted all its options. Ranil Wickremesinghe was the 13th Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. He lost the 2005 Presidential election by a wafer thin margin. Then what is with Ranil Wickremesinghe the Gentleman Politician and mature leader to suffer defeat after defeat. It would be wrong to assume that he is burdened with the CFA. After all his best performance in the island wide poll was in 2005 when he flaunted the CFA as opening to a brave new world of a negotiated settlement.</p> <p>http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=90199</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Profile: Ranil Wickramasinghe</p> <p>Ranil Wickramasinghe has twice run unsuccessfully for the office of Sri Lankan president. He lost to Mahinda Rajapakse in 2005 and Chandrika Kumaratunga in 1999.</p> <p>Mr Wickramasinghe became Sri Lanka's prime minister in 2001 and negotiated a ceasefire with Tamil Tiger rebels aimed at ending the country's long-running ethnic conflict. But he lost power in 2004, after Mrs Kumaratunga called early elections.</p> <p>During his term as prime minister, he began peace talks with the Tamil rebels, even offering a power-sharing deal.</p> <p>But both Mrs Kumaratunga and Mr Rajapakse accused him of being too lenient with the Tamil rebels and of offering them too many concessions.</p> <p>Power struggle</p> <p>Mr Wickramasinghe first became known as the nephew of Sri Lanka's first executive president, Junius Jayewardene.</p> <p>A lawyer by profession, Mr Wickramasinghe comes from an affluent family of politicians and businessmen.</p>
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<p>Sri Lanka 2010</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 1</p>	<p>Fonseka rejects Sri Lanka election win for Rajapaksa. Thousands of opposition supporters took to the streets of Sri Lanka's capital Wednesday to protest the results of the recent presidential election. protesters gathered in a field in central Colombo to listen to speeches from opposition politicians, including Fonseka. In October, Sri Lanka's Supreme Court dismissed a petition challenging the re-election of President Mahinda Rajapaksa filed by his defeated opponent and now jailed former Army Chief Sarath Fonseka alleging that there were large-scale irregularities in the polls.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 26 January 2010 <i>Winner:</i> Mahinda Rajapaksa, United People's Freedom Alliance <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Sarath Fonseka, New Democratic Front</p> <p>-0- Page last updated at 20:36 GMT, Wednesday, 27 January 2010</p> <p>Fonseka rejects Sri Lanka election win for Rajapaksa President Mahinda Rajapaksa has been declared the winner of Sri Lanka's presidential poll but the outcome was immediately rejected by his challenger. Gen Sarath Fonseka promised a legal challenge to the outcome of the ballot, the first since Tamil Tiger rebels were defeated after 25 years of civil war. The Elections Commission declared Mr Rajapaksa the victor with 57.8% of votes cast, to 40% for his main rival. Gen Fonseka later left a hotel where he had complained of being intimidated. He left in a vehicle with security on Wednesday, and prevented troops who had been stationed around the luxury hotel from searching him and his vehicle. Once he had left the area, the troops immediately took down roadblocks and dispersed. It was believed his security would be removed when he got to his house, but a military spokesman said 40-50 troops would be retained for him. A government spokesman had said the troops were at the hotel to look for army deserters, with a military spokesman adding that the troops' deployment was a "protective measure". The BBC's Anbarasan Ethirajan, who had been in the same hotel as Gen Fonseka and other opposition leaders, says the troops' presence had created a very tense atmosphere. An opposition spokesman, Rauf Hakeem, said opposition members had appealed to the government over what he said were "high-handed tactics" intended to intimidate them. He told reporters there were no deserters inside the hotel. Gen Fonseka has alleged vote-rigging and has lodged several objections with Sri Lanka's electoral commission by letter. He has also accused the government of wanting to kill him and said it had removed his personal security from the hotel, leaving him vulnerable. Speaking the BBC's Sinhala service, Gen Fonseka later confirmed that he had reached his home. "We went to the hotel because there was a threat to my life," he said. "There is nothing we can do about it. There is no law and order in this country. They are planning to assassinate me." He did not give any details about any alleged plot to kill him. He added that he was planning to leave the country, but would not say where he was going.</p>
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			<p>President Mahinda Rajapaksa secured a landslide victory, defeating his former army chief Sarath Fonseka in the Jan. 26 poll with a 17 percentage point margin, according to official results. But the opposition says the vote was rigged and has said it will mount a court challenge.</p> <p>After the street rally, protesters gathered in a field in central Colombo to listen to speeches from opposition politicians.</p> <p>Election protests are rare in this island nation, but the demonstration reflected the bitter nature of a presidential campaign that pitted former allies against one other.</p> <p>"The president is not behaving like someone who has won the election with such a big majority," Fonseka told the flag-waving and cheering crowd. "His actions and his retribution on opponents suggests that he is nervous."</p> <p>Human rights groups say the government has stepped up threats and intimidation against opposition supporters and the media after the presidential vote. The government denies this.</p> <p>Anura Dissanayake, another opposition official, called on supporters to reject what he called a "corrupt election."</p> <p>Both Rajapaksa and Fonseka are considered heroes by the country's Sinhalese majority for their leading roles in defeating Tamil Tiger rebels last May. But the two fell out at the end of the war, and Fonseka joined the opposition.</p> <p>Opposition lawmaker Palitha Range Bandara said Wednesday's protest was the first step in their attempt to challenge the president's legitimacy. The demonstration ended without violence.</p> <p>The country's election chief Dayananda Dissanayake said Wednesday that he stands by the election results announced last week, but reiterated that during the campaign state-run media disregarded his calls for fair coverage and favored the president.</p> <p>With parliamentary elections planned for later this year, the unofficial campaign season is well under way.</p> <p>http://seattletimes.com/html/nationworld/2010965299_apassrilankaelections.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>
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<p>Court rejects Fonseka's charges on re-election of Mahinda Rajapaksa PTI Oct 29, 2010, 04.29 PM IST COLOMBO: Sri Lanka's Supreme Court on Friday dismissed a petition challenging the re-election of President Mahinda Rajapaksa filed by his defeated opponent and now jailed former Army Chief Sarath Fonseka alleging that there were large-scale irregularities in the polls.</p> <p>The five-member Supreme Court bench dismissed the petition by upholding on a preliminary objection raised on behalf of President Mahinda Rajapaksa. The defence argued that there was insufficient grounds to proceed with the case, a court official said. Fonseka, who lost the January 26 Presidential Polls to Rajapaksa by nearly 1.8 million votes, had charged the ruling party with rigging and electoral malpractice.</p> <p>Rajapaksa had told reporters immediately after his victory that he wondered how such a charge could be levied after he had won the polls by a huge margin.</p> <p>Two weeks after his defeat, Fonseka was arrested and placed in indefinite detention. Last month, he was jailed for 30 months after a court martial found him guilty of irregularities in military procurements.</p> <p>Fonseka, however, won a seat in April parliamentary elections though he was disqualified recently after he was sentenced in the arms corruption case.</p> <p>Meanwhile, Wellington Dehoedt, Director of Hicorp, which supplied arms for the Sri Lankan Army during the last phase of the civil war, was sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment by the Colombo High Court after he pleaded guilty on 12 counts.</p> <p>Wellington is the second accused in Hicorp arms deal case, the Daily Mirror reported.</p> <p>Hicorp was headed by Fonseka's son-in-law when it supplied arms for the Sri Lankan army.</p> <p>A Sri Lankan court also gave a clean chit to Fonseka's secretary Senaka de Silva on charges of his involvement in an alleged attempt to topple the government, the Mirror reported.</p> <p>http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/south-asia/Court-rejects-Fonsekas-charges-on-re-election-of-Mahinda-Rajapaksa/articleshow/6835041.cms</p>

United States of America 1976-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
USA 1976	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	First Lady Betty Ford speaks on his behalf, informing the nation that the president officially conceded and offered his congratulations to the new president-elect.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Tuesday, November 2, 1976. <i>Winner:</i> Jimmy Carter, Dem <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Gerald Ford, Rep</p> <p>The electoral vote was the closest since 1916; Carter carried 23 states with 297 electoral votes, while Ford won 27 states and 240 electoral votes (one elector from Washington state, pledged to Ford, voted for Reagan).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>First Lady Betty Ford Delivers President Ford's Concession (0:58) TV-14</p> <p>In November 1976, President Gerald Ford was defeated in his re-election campaign by challenger Jimmy Carter. Because Ford was hoarse from campaigning, First Lady Betty Ford speaks on his behalf, informing the nation that the president officially conceded and offered his congratulations to the new president-elect.</p> <p>http://www.history.com/speeches/betty-delivers-president-fords-concession#betty-delivers-president-fords-concession</p>
USA 1980	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Mr Carter was reportedly ready to concede victory to his opponent by 1.30 a.m. but was persuaded to wait a little longer by his press secretary, Mr Jody Powell. But the Carter campaign manager, Mr Robert Strauss, made the first public acknowledgement of defeat in an ABC television interview just before 2 a.m.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Tuesday, November 4, 1980 <i>Winner:</i> Ronald Reagan, Republican <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jimmy Carter, Democratic</p> <p>The electoral college vote was a landslide, with 489 votes (representing 44 states) for Reagan and 49 votes for Carter (representing 6 states and the District of Columbia).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Jimmy Carter Delivers Concession Speech (0:45) TV-14</p>

			<p>http://www.history.com/speeches/jimmy-carter-delivers-concession-speech#jimmy-carter-delivers-concession-speech</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Aides tell tearful Jimmy Carter that 'It's all over' Harold Jackson in Washington and Alex Brummer in Los Angeles The Guardian, Wednesday 5 November 1980 11.23 GMT</p> <p>Ronald Reagan will be the next President of the United States. He was heading for the White House early today in what appeared to be a landslide victory in the presidential election. As the returns poured in, it became evident within 90 minutes of the first counts that the coalition on which Mr Carter had counted for his re-election had crumbled all over the country.</p> <p>The President was reported to have burst into tears as he returned to Washington on board Air Force One. He was told by his staff that "it was all over." Mr Carter was reportedly ready to concede victory to his opponent by 1.30 a.m. but was persuaded to wait a little longer by his press secretary, Mr Jody Powell.</p> <p>But the Carter campaign manager, Mr Robert Strauss, made the first public acknowledgement of defeat in an ABC television interview just before 2 a.m.</p> <p>By 2 am the American television networks had projected the following states for Mr Reagan: Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.</p> <p>The popular vote at 2 am GMT was: Carter 4,887,632, 43 per cent; Reagan 5,795,313, 51 per cent; Anderson 580,090, 5 per cent.</p> <p>Two leading Democratic liberals had also lost in the congressional elections: Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, and representative John Brademas. Senator George McGovern, the former Presidential candidate, was projected to lose his seat in South Dakota.</p> <p>Mr Carter had only won his home state of Georgia, Massachusetts, the bastion of his rival, Senator Edward Kennedy, the heavily Democratic District of Columbia, and West Virginia.</p>
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			<p>Mr Reagan made dramatic gains in the Southern states, on which Mr Carter had relied as the base for the 270 electoral votes needed for victory. Within a short time it became clear that he was also making huge inroads in the Mid-Western industrial states which held the key to the Oval Office.</p> <p>The returns indicated that there had been a huge defection of traditional Democrats, extending even to the blacks and other minority groups which Mr Carter had wooed avidly during the campaign. Despite the President's efforts to fasten voters' attention on foreign affairs, it became evident throughout the night that the state of the economy was the country's leading preoccupation.</p> <p>Mr Reagan seemed to be attracting much heavier support from trade unionists than any previous Republican, getting more than 40 per cent of their ballots.</p> <p>Mr Reagan's victory makes Mr Carter the first elected President to be refused a second term since 1932, but he is the fifth in a row to last for less than eight years. Mr Reagan, by the time he is inaugurated on January 20, will be the oldest man ever to lead the most powerful nation in the world. The apparent size of the Republican victory went far beyond the forecasts made by the opinion polls and it seemed clear that the large number of voters who had wavered until the last minute had gone heavily into the Reagan camp.</p> <p>It also seemed evident that the latest developments in the Iranian hostage crisis had certainly not helped the President. Some of his supporters, in fact, felt that the size of his defeat might have come from the coincidence of the anniversary of their seizure and the election date.</p> <p>It was by no means clear, however, that the President's troubles were blighting the chances of all Democratic candidates for the House and Senate. Clear Democratic majorities in both chambers were being projected.</p> <p>Senator Birch Bayh was the first casualty of the biggest Republican push in a quarter century for control of the Senate.</p> <p>But several more moderate-to-conservative Democrats appeared to be holding onto their seats on the basis of early returns from voting for Senate seats in 34 states.</p> <p>In other early returns, Senator Wendell H. Ford, the moderate Kentucky Democrat who was never in serious trouble, easily defeated Republican Mary Louise Foust, former State auditor.</p>
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			<p>In South Carolina, Senator Ernest F. Hollings, another moderate, was leading Republican Marshall T. Mays, a former state legislator who had been given little chance of unseating Hollings.</p> <p>Senator Herman E. Talmadge, chairman of the Senate agriculture committee and target of a Senate rebuke for financial irregularities a year ago, was also called a winner by NBC and ABC. Senator John Glenn brushed aside a challenge by state representative, John Betts, according to all three networks reporting from Ohio.</p> <p>In other states as many as eight or nine Democratic incumbents, most of them liberals, were regarded by pollsters and political analysts as vulnerable, especially in a Republican landslide.</p> <p>The President was told last night that samplings taken by his pollster, Pat Caddell showed "it is all over." When he went to Plains to vote, Mr Carter put on a brave front but did not predict victory.</p> <p>Not since 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt thrashed Herbert Hoover, has an elected President lost in a bid for re-election. Hoover was defeated chiefly on economic issues.</p> <p>The Democratic campaign manager, Mr Robert Strauss said: "I just put on a \$60 tie. If I go out I go out in style."</p> <p>Mr Reagan, gathering Illinois, was within an ace of the total needed to claim early victory. The writing was on the wall straight from the start, particularly in Carter's Southern base.</p> <p>In spite of the President's efforts to fasten voters' attention on foreign affairs, it became evident throughout the night that the state of the economy was the country's leading preoccupation. Mr Reagan seemed to be attracting much heavier support from trade unionists than any previous Republican, getting more than 40 per cent of their ballots.</p> <p>Reports from polling stations throughout the Eastern states suggested that the turnout had been far heavier than had been predicted by experts and that the downward trend of the past 16 years might have been arrested.</p> <p>Mr Ronald Reagan cast his vote close to his Pacific Palisades beach home, a few hours after making a television address in which he described in more detail than before the future shape of a Reagan Administration.</p>
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			<p>In the speech, one of the most effective of his long campaign, Mr Reagan disclosed that a transition team of leaders, which he had established three months ago, had reached agreement on a Reagan presidential cabinet which would operate along strictly managerial lines.</p> <p>He said he had assembled over the last three months "the best leaders in the nation." This list of leaders who have been giving him increasing advice in the final stages of the campaign included former President Ford, Dr Kissinger and former Ford economic expert, Mr Alan Greenspan.</p> <p>With an eye on the international community, where he has been viewed with so much suspicion, Mr Reagan assured America's Western allies of the country's continued affection and sensitivity to their needs, promised to extend the hand of US friendship to China and sent a special message to the people of Britain.</p> <p>http://www.theguardian.com/world/1980/nov/05/usa.alexbrummer1</p> <p>-0-</p>
<p>USA 1984</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Mondale supporters, who gathered in the city centre stadium at St Paul, had to wait until 10 o'clock local time for the candidate to come across from his hotel and tell them that he had telephoned the President and conceded defeat.</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 6, 1984. Winner: Ronald Reagan, Republican Runner-up candidate: Walter Mondale, Democratic</p> <p>Reagan was re-elected in the November 6 election in an electoral and popular vote landslide, winning 49 states. Reagan won a record 525 electoral votes total (of 538 possible), and received 58.8 percent of the popular vote; Mondale's 13 electoral college votes (from his home state of Minnesota—which he won by 0.18%—and the District of Columbia) marked the lowest total of any major Presidential candidate since Alf Landon's 1936 loss to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mondale's defeat was also the worst for any Democratic Party candidate in American history in the Electoral College.</p> <p>-0- Mondale quits on bitter-sweet note / Democratic presidential candidate defeated</p> <p>Michael White The Guardian, Thursday 8 November 1984 12.29 GMT</p>

			<p>The defeated presidential candidate, Mr Walter Mondale, yesterday announced his retirement from electoral politics and warned that he would soon be proved right on the campaign issues. In New York, Mrs Geraldine Ferraro rejected suggestions that she contributed to Mr Mondale's defeat. Her campaign for the vice-presidency would serve as 'a first step in opening doors for women in national politics,' she said.</p> <p>At a press conference near his home in Minnesota, the only state to support him, the Democratic candidate acknowledged that he had failed to convince the young voters, moderates, and independents necessary to his success and that he had a 'vision of the future that I believe I have.'</p> <p>Although constantly drawing back from direct criticism of President Reagan on the morning of his historic landslide, Mr Mondale's otherwise affectionate press conference was tinged with bitterness as he spoke of a modern president's need to master essential detail and policy control.</p> <p>He predicted that across a whole range of issues, from arms control, foreign policy, civil rights, and the environment, he would be vindicated.</p> <p>Above all, he said, that the budget deficit - 'the domestic equivalent of the hydrogen bomb' - would soon oblige the Reagan Administration to eat humble pie and raise taxes.</p> <p>Since Mr Mondale believed that the Government would wish to protect its defence budget, it would attack the welfare programmes, thereby arousing America's 'instinct for justice and fairness,' in which he still believed.</p> <p>Mr Mondale acknowledged publicly what many here believed at the time: that President Reagan 's survival in the second televised debate with Mr Mondale on October 21 destroyed his last hope of winning.</p> <p>With a wry smile, he conceded: 'Modern politics today requires a mastery of television. I think you know I have never really warmed up to television and television has never warmed up to me.'</p> <p>In an implied criticism of President Reagan 's approach to politics and to government he said: 'I do not believe it is possible to run for president any more without the capacity to build confidence and communication every day. The thing that scares me about that is that American politics is losing its substance, it is losing its talk on the merits, losing its depth.'</p>
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			<p>On a personal note, he confirmed that he would 'not be seeking presidential or any other elective office again.' Having been in political office for 24 years, he now owed it to his family 'to pursue certain economic necessities,' by which he meant to become a Washington lawyer.</p> <p>Mr Mondale's remarks came after a remarkably suspense-free election night in which the nature of the Republican victory was evident soon after the polls began to close in the East. But both sides have agreed not to repeat President Carter's demoralising error in acknowledging his defeat in 1980 when the Californian polls were still open.</p> <p>So Mondale supporters, who gathered in the city centre stadium at St Paul, had to wait until 10 o'clock local time for the candidate to come across from his hotel and tell them that he had telephoned the President and conceded defeat.</p> <p>Meanwhile, he and his supporters endured the relentless television roll-call of the states which had fallen to Mr Reagan and the sight of the Rev Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority sounding very cheerful on all three networks.</p> <p>From their own side, the former Carter campaign manager, Mr Bert Lance, was also offering a pithy obituary on Mrs Ferraro's candidacy, which Mr Mondale again robustly defended yesterday. 'Pioneers get all the arrows,' Mr Lance said.</p> <p>The loyalists raised one last cheer for Mr Mondale, but it was a ragged and broken-backed crowd, finally subdued by the scale of the disaster. http://www.theguardian.com/world/1984/nov/08/usa.michaelwhite</p> <p>-0-</p>
<p>USA 1988</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>		<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 8, 1988 Winner: George H. W. Bush, Republican Runner-up candidate: Michael Dukakis, Democratic</p> <p>In the November 8 election, Bush won a majority of the popular vote and a lopsided majority (40) of states in the Electoral College.</p> <p>-0- Michael Dukakis Concession Speech Nov 8, 1988</p>

			<p>Follow Similar Programs</p> <p>Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis conceded the presidential election, wishing George H.W. Bush well, and pledging his support to the new administration.*He also said he would work with other governors to achieve the goals of his unsuccessful presidential effort. http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/Conce</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>The 1988 Elections; Bush Vows Presidency of "All the People" By GERALD M. BOYD, Special to the New York Times Published: November 09, 1988 SIGN IN TO E-MAIL PRINT</p> <p>Under a sign proclaiming "America Wins," Vice President Bush pledged tonight that he would be President of "all the people" and would keep a "conversation going" with the nation.</p> <p>Mr. Bush spoke at an emotional victory rally here, moments after Gov. Michael S. Dukakis conceded defeat. The President-elect appeared to temper his comments with an awareness of the tasks that await him.</p> <p>"A campaign is a disagreement, and disagreements divide," he said. "But an election is a decision, and decisions clear the way for harmony and peace." "I mean to be a President of all the people." 'Majestic Words'</p> <p>He told the crowd, "We can now speak the most majestic words democracy has to offer: the people have spoken."</p> <p>Later Mr. Bush added, "You can't help but be moved when your country endorses your hopes and your candidacy, and your feelings are so personal."</p> <p>Mr. Bush watched the returns at his suite at the Houstonian Hotel, with his wife, Barbara, and several children and grandchildren. He arrived at the victory rally after it was clear that he had amassed more than the 270 electoral votes needed for victory. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/11/09/us/the-1988-elections-bush-vows-presidency-of-all-the-people.html</p>
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<p>USA 1992</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>“We respect the majesty of the democratic system. I just -- that governor Clinton over in little rock and offered my congratulations.”</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 3, 1992 Winner: Bill Clinton, Democratic Runner-up candidate: George H. W. Bush, Republican</p> <p>On November 3, Bill Clinton won the election to be the 42nd President of the United States by a wide margin in the Electoral College, receiving 43 percent of the popular vote against Bush's 37 percent and Perot's 19%.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Nov. 3, 1992: President George H.W. Bush Concedes Election President Bush delivers concession speech after election loss to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. 05:02 12/26/2012</p> <p>Transcript for Nov. 3, 1992: President George H.W. Bush Concedes Election</p> <p>We respect. The majesty of the democratic system. I just -- that governor Clinton over in little rock and offered my congratulations.</p> <p>He did run a strong campaign. I wish him well in the White House and I want the country to now that. That our entire administration.</p> <p>Will work closely with his team to ensure -- smooth transition of power. There is important work to be done and America must always come first so we will get behind this new president -- The wrong crowd around -- me. Here especially here but all across the country.</p> <p>Thank you for your support and we have fought the good. Fight and we've kept the faith and I believe I have uphold held the honor. Of the president.</p> <p>Okay. Now I asked that we stand behind our new president and regardless of our differences. All Americans shame that say to share the same purpose.</p> <p>But to make this the world's greatest nation more safe and more secure and -- guarantee. Every American a shot at the American dream. And I would like to thank so many of you both work beside it made you improve America and to literally.</p>
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			<p>Change the world. Let me thank our great vice president Dan Quayle. -- -- Tremendous pounding -- good for what he believes then.</p> <p>Okay. You. -- I have my profound gratitude.</p> <p>And certainly my respect and I would like to salute. So many. That that did special work Rich Bond up in the RNC Bob Teeter.</p> <p>Who ran -- campaign Bob Mosbacher. Our entire campaign team. And they've run a valiant effort in a very very difficult year.</p> <p>And I also want to salute to members of the cabinet all of whom have served who have served this nation. With honor with integrity. And with great distinction.</p> <p>And I would like to single out. Two leaders who represent the ideals of -- the ideal. In public service -- together they've helped lead the world through a period of unprecedented transition.</p> <p>I'm talking of course about to -- national security advisor Brent Scowcroft and. And I. My good friend and fellow Texan our secretary of state Jim Baker.</p> <p>Finally of course I want to thank my entire family. With this special emphasis on a woman named Barbara. -- It is inspired this -- Entire nation.</p> <p>And I think the country will always be grateful. -- tonight is really not. A night for speeches they don't want -- fair's Sarah special message with a young people of America.</p> <p>-- -- -- -- Okay. Okay. I remain absolutely convinced.</p> <p>That we are -- nation. We have been an extraordinarily difficult period that do not be deterred. Kept away from public service.</p> <p>By -- smoke and fire -- campaign year the ugliness of politics. As for me I plan to get. I'm gonna serve and try to find ways to help people but I plan to get very active in a grandchild business.</p> <p>And and in finding ways to help others but I urge you to young people of this country. To participate. In the political process it needs your idealism.</p>
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			<p>It needs your drive. That needs your conviction. In again my thanks my -- my -- congratulations to governor Clinton.</p> <p>To his running mate senator gore and night special thanks. To each and every one of you many of you have been my side and every single political battle. May god bless the United States of America thank you very very much.</p> <p>http://abcnews.go.com/Archives/video/nov-1992-president-george-hw-bush-concedes-election-18071122</p>
<p>USA 1996</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Let me say that I've talked to President Clinton. We had a good visit, and I congratulated him. . . I've said repeatedly in this campaign that the President was my opponent and not my enemy. And I wish him well, and I pledge my support in whatever advances the cause of a better America</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 5, 1996 Winner: Bill Clinton, Democratic Runner-up candidate: Bob Dole, Republican</p> <p>On election day, President Clinton won a decisive victory over Dole, becoming the first Democrat to win presidential reelection since Franklin Roosevelt. At age 50 years and 2 months, he also became the youngest person to win re-election to the office. In the popular vote, he outpolled Dole by over 8.2 million votes. The Electoral College map did not change much from the previous election, with the Democratic incumbent winning 379 votes to the Republican ticket's 159.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Bob Dole Concession Speech Nov 5, 1996 Republican presidential candidate Dole thanked supporters, family and staff members and conceded defeat in the election http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/DoleCon</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Remarks By Dole in Conceding Defeat by Clinton Published: November 06, 1996 SIGN IN TO E-MAIL PRINT</p>

			<p>Following are excerpts from the concession speech tonight by Bob Dole, the Republican nominee for President, at a hotel in Washington, as recorded by the Federal Document Clearing House, a private company:</p> <p>I was thinking on the way down in the elevator: tomorrow will be the first time in my life I don't have anything to do.</p> <p>But I wanted to come down and thank all of you. You've done a great job, and I'm very proud of Trent. We're going to keep the Senate. We're going to keep the House.</p> <p>Thank you. Thank you very much.</p> <p>Let me say that I've talked to President Clinton. We had a good visit, and I congratulated him. . . .I've said repeatedly in this campaign that the President was my opponent and not my enemy. And I wish him well, and I pledge my support in whatever advances the cause of a better America because that's what the race was about in the first place, a better America as we go into the next century.</p> <p>http://www.nytimes.com/1996/11/06/us/remarks-by-dole-in-conceding-defeat-by-clinton.html</p>
<p>USA 2000</p>	<p>1 = 1 2 = 1 3 = 0</p>	<p>In the election of 2000, Al Gore first conceded defeat based on predictions made by television networks. But afterwards he filed a suit in the Florida Supreme Court.</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 7, 2000 Winner: George W. Bush, Republican Runner-up candidate: Al Gore, Democratic</p> <p>Most of the post-electoral controversy revolved around Gore's request for hand recounts in four counties (Broward, Miami Dade, Palm Beach, and Volusia), as provided under Florida state law. Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris announced she would reject any revised totals from those counties if they were not turned in by November 14, the statutory deadline for amended returns. The Florida Supreme Court extended the deadline to November 26, a decision later vacated by the U.S. Supreme Court. Miami-Dade eventually halted its recount and resubmitted its original total to the state canvassing board, while Palm Beach County failed to meet the extended deadline. On November 26, the state canvassing board certified Bush the winner of Florida's electors by 537 votes. Gore formally contested the certified results, but a state court decision overruling Gore was reversed by the Florida Supreme Court, which ordered a recount of over 70,000 ballots previously rejected by machine counters. The U.S. Supreme Court quickly halted that order the next day with</p>

			<p>the concurring opinion that a recount of votes "of questionable legality does [...] threaten irreparable harm" to Bush as "each manual recount produces a degradation of the ballots." [55]</p> <p>On December 12, the Supreme Court ruled in a 7–2 vote that the Florida Supreme Court's ruling requiring a statewide recount of ballots was unconstitutional, and in a 5–4 vote that the Florida recounts could not be completed before a December 12 "safe harbor" deadline, and should therefore cease and the previously certified total should hold.</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Al Gore concedes presidential election of 2000</p> <p>December 13, 2000: A date which will live in infamy. Vice-president Gore offers his concession speech to George W. Bush, who, through a well-engineered conspiracy involving his brother (the governor of florida) and the Supreme Court justices (all of whom were appointed by George H .W. Bush, and his mentor, Ronald Reagan), threw the law and Constitution aside and forced the country into 8 years of terrorism and despair.</p> <p>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GyKlcQ_HiD4</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>In the initial days following Election Day, the Bush team went to great effort to stop the recount from occurring, despite the fact that it was specifically allowed by Florida statute. Publicly, they tried to cast Gore as a "sore loser" for trying to obtain the recount. They even began to develop and use (in protest marches) big signs which read "Sore Loserman", as a pun on Gore/Lieberman.</p> <p>http://journals.democraticunderground.com/Time%20for%20change/645</p> <p>-0-</p>
<p>USA 2004</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Democratic challenger John Kerry has publicly admitted defeat in the US election</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 2, 2004 Winner: George W. Bush, Republican Runner-up candidate: John Kerry, Democratic</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Last Updated: Wednesday, 3 November, 2004, 19:33 GMT Kerry concedes election to Bush</p>

			<p>Democratic challenger John Kerry has publicly admitted defeat in the US election, giving President George W Bush a second term in office.</p> <p>"I would not give up this fight if there was a chance we would prevail," he told supporters in Boston.</p> <p>"Today I hope we can begin the healing," he said.</p> <p>Mr Kerry earlier telephoned Mr Bush to concede the state of Ohio, whose 20 Electoral College votes held the key to victory in a cliffhanger election.</p> <p>Mr Bush is expected to make a victory speech at about 2000 GMT.</p> <p>Mr Kerry said he and Mr Bush had spoken "about the danger of division in our country and the need, the desperate need, for unity".</p> <p>Mr Kerry's running mate John Edwards praised the defeated senator as a "great American".</p> <p>With Ohio, Mr Bush now has 274 Electoral College votes, four more than needed for victory. Mr Kerry has 252 votes.</p> <p>Results are still awaited in New Mexico and Iowa but they cannot affect the outcome.</p> <p>The delay in declaring Ohio a win for Mr Bush came about because the Democrats said there were a substantial number of uncounted absentee and provisional ballots that could still have clinched it for Mr Kerry.</p> <p>But in his concession speech, Mr Kerry said it was clear that there were not enough outstanding votes to win Ohio.</p> <p>He said it was vital that every vote must count and be counted, but the outcome should be decided by voters, not a protracted legal process.</p> <p>'Gracious' Kerry</p> <p>President Bush will enter his new four-year term in office with strengthened Republicans majorities in both houses of Congress.</p> <p>Mr Kerry phoned Mr Bush to concede shortly after 1600 GMT.</p>
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			<p>In a four-minute conversation, Mr Kerry congratulated the president, while Mr Bush called the Democrat "an admirable, worthy opponent".</p> <p>White House staff said the president had described his rival as "very gracious" in defeat.</p> <p>The result means Mr Bush has a stronger mandate than four years ago, when he won only after a 36-day legal battle over a recount in Florida.</p> <p>In 2000, Mr Bush finally won Florida by 537 votes, but this time he won an undisputed victory, with a projected five-point lead over Mr Kerry.</p> <p>http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3979367.stm</p> <p>-0-</p>
<p>USA 2008</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>John McCain has conceded defeat to Barack Obama in the US presidential election in a gracious speech congratulating the new president-elect and declaring that the "people of America have spoken".</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 4, 2008 Winner: Barack Obama, Democratic Runner-up candidate: John McCain, Republican</p> <p>1:09:51 P.M. CERTIFICATION OF ELECTORAL VOTES - Beginning with the state of Alabama, the tellers proceeded with announcing the results of the Electoral College balloting.</p> <p>1:35:31 P.M. At the conclusion of counting the Electoral ballots, the Vice President reported to the Joint Session that the votes would be recorded as follows: For the Office of President of the United States, Barack Obama--365; John McCain--173; and for the Office of Vice President of the United States, Joseph Biden--365; Sarah Palin--173.</p> <p>1:36:46 P.M. DISSOLVING THE JOINT SESSION - After announcing the results of the certification process, the Vice President announced that the Joint Session was dissolved and that the results of the proceedings had during the Joint Session would be entered into the Journals of both Houses.</p> <p>http://clerk.house.gov/floorsummary/floor.aspx?day=20090108</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>John McCain concedes to Barack Obama in gracious speech Republican candidate tells supporters in Arizona they must move beyond partisanship and work to heal America Lee Glendinning</p>

			<p>theguardian.com, Wednesday 5 November 2008 04.54 GMT</p> <p>John McCain has conceded defeat to Barack Obama in the US presidential election in a gracious speech congratulating the new president-elect and declaring that the "people of America have spoken".</p> <p>Having trailed significantly throughout the day, McCain conceded defeat shortly after 4am GMT. Addressing his supporters at the Phoenix hotel in Arizona following a personal phonecall to Obama, McCain told the crowd he recognised the special significance of the historic election for African Americans.</p> <p>"Senator Obama has achieved a great thing, for himself and for his country. I applaud him for it," he said.</p> <p>He repeatedly pledged he would do all he could for America at such a difficult time, despite his loss, and went on to refer to Obama as "the man who was my former opponent who will now be my president".</p> <p>"Whatever our differences, we are fellow Americans and please believe me when I say no association has meant more to me than that," McCain said. "It is natural tonight to feel some disappointment but tomorrow we must move beyond it."</p> <p>http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/05/john-mccain-concedes-election</p>
<p>USA 2012</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Mitt Romney delivered his concession speech just after midnight early on Wednesday after President Barack Obama was projected the winner of the race for the White House.</p> <p>"I have just called President Obama to congratulate him on his victory. His supporters and his campaign also deserve congratulations."</p>	<p>Election date: Tuesday, November 6, 2012 Winner: Barack Obama, Democratic Runner-up candidate: Mitt Romney, Republican</p> <p>After the networks called Ohio (the state that was arguably the most critical for Romney, as no Republican had ever won the election without carrying it) for Obama at around 11:15 PM EST on Election Day, Romney was at first reluctant to concede the race, as many counties in Ohio were still outstanding. However, after Colorado and Nevada were called for the President (giving Obama enough electoral votes to win even if Ohio were to leave his column), in tandem with Obama's apparent lead in Florida and Virginia (both were eventually called for Obama), Romney acknowledged that he had lost and conceded at around 1:00 AM EST on November 7.</p>

			<p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mitt Romney Concession Speech: Presidential Candidate Concedes Election To Obama Posted: 11/07/2012 12:59 am EST Updated: 11/07/2012 10:01 am EST Mitt Romney delivered his concession speech just after midnight early on Wednesday after President Barack Obama was projected the winner of the race for the White House.</p> <p>The Republican candidate told his supporters that he called the president to concede. "I wish all of them well, particularly the president, the first lady and their daughters," he said.</p> <p>Romney explained, "I ran for office because I'm concerned for America," and added, "Like so many of you, Paul and I have left everything on the field. We have given our all to this campaign." http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/06/mitt-romney-concession-speech_n_2036451.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mitt Romney concedes defeat in US presidential election 2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu9_YPXQ5Vo</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Mitt Romney's concession speech – full text Republican candidate concedes defeat with speech to supporters in Boston theguardian.com, Wednesday 7 November 2012 08.21 GMT</p> <p>Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, my friends. Thank you so very much. Thank you. (Cheers, applause.) Thank you. Thank you.</p> <p>I have just called President Obama to congratulate him on his victory. His supporters and his campaign also deserve congratulations. I wish all of them well, but particularly the president, the first lady and their daughters. (Applause.) This is a time of great challenges for America, and I pray that the president will be successful in guiding our nation.</p> <p>(Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>I want to thank Paul Ryan for all that he has done for our campaign – (cheers, applause) – and for our country. Besides my wife Ann, Paul is the best choice I've ever made. (Cheers, applause.) And I</p>
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			<p>trust that his intellect and his hard work and his commitment to principle will continue to contribute to the good of our nation. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>I also want to thank Ann, the love of my life. (Cheers, applause.) She would have been a wonderful first lady. (Cheers, applause.) She's – she has been that and more to me and to our family and to the many people that she has touched with her compassion and her care. I thank my sons for their tireless work on behalf of the campaign, and thank their wives and children – (cheers, applause) – for taking up their slack as their husbands and dads have spent so many weeks away from home. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>I want to thank Matt Rhoades and the dedicated campaign team he led. (Cheers, applause.) They have made an extraordinary effort, not just for me but also for the country that we love. And to you here tonight and to the team across the country – the volunteers, the fundraisers, the donors, the surrogates – I don't believe that there's ever been an effort in our party that can compare with what you have done over these past years. Thank you so very much. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>Thanks for all the hours of work, for the calls, for the speeches and appearances, for the resources and for the prayers.</p> <p>You gave deeply from yourselves and performed magnificently, and you inspired us and you humbled us. You've been the very best we could have imagined.</p> <p>The nation, as you know, is at a critical point. At a time like this, we can't risk partisan bickering and political posturing. Our leaders have to reach across the aisle to do the people's work. And we citizens also have to rise to the occasion. We look to our teachers and professors. We count on you not just to teach, but to inspire our children with a passion for learning and discovery.</p> <p>We look to our pastors and priests and rabbis and counsellors of all kinds to testify of the enduring principles upon which our society is built – honesty, charity, integrity and family. We look to our parents, for in the final analysis, everything depends on the success of our homes. We look to job creators of all kinds. We're counting on you to invest, to hire, to step forward. And we look to Democrats and Republicans in government at all levels to put the people before the politics.</p> <p>I believe in America. I believe in the people of America. (Cheers, applause.)</p>
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			<p>And I ran for office because I'm concerned about America. This election is over, but our principles endure. I believe that the principles upon which this nation was founded are the only sure guide to a resurgent economy and to a new greatness.</p> <p>Like so many of you, Paul and I have left everything on the field. We have given our all to this campaign. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>I so wish – I so wish that I had been able to fulfil your hopes to lead the country in a different direction. But the nation chose another leader. And so Ann and I join with you to earnestly pray for him and for this great nation.</p> <p>Thank you, and God bless America. (Cheers, applause.) You guys are the best. Thank you so much. Thank you. Thanks, guys. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/07/mitt-romney-concession-speech-text</p>
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Uruguay 1984-2009

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Uruguay 1984	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	The day after the election, Alberto Zumarán, candidate of the National Party, gave a hug to the winner of the presidential election, Julio María Sanguinetti, and the multitude stated cheering: “¡Uruguay! ¡Uruguay!”	<p><i>Election date:</i> 25 November 1984 <i>Winner:</i> Julio María Sanguinetti –Colorado Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Alberto Zumarán –National Party</p> <p>Los uruguayos optaron por la vía conservadora al elegir presidente al 'colorado' Sanguinetti MARTIN PRIETO Montevideo 27 NOV 1984</p> <p>Cuando, en las primeras horas de la madrugada, el general Líber Seregni apareció en un balcón para rogar a la multitud que regresara a sus casas -por primera vez fue desobedecido- dado que lo</p>

			<p>apretado del escrutinio retrasaría el resultado hasta el amanecer, quedó patente que la coalición admitía su derrota.</p> <p>Grupos de frenteamplistas atacaron a pedradas el cuartel electoral colorado en la Avenida Dieciocho de Julio y penetraron a continuación en el mismo, arrasando mobiliario y personas.</p> <p>Expulsados hasta la calle, simpatizantes de ambos bandos se enzarzaron en una pelea sobre cuyo fragor se escucharon algunos disparos, antes de que llegara la caballería policial a la batahola. Afortunadamente, la Avenida Dieciocho de Julio se encontraba abarrotada de militantes de todos los partidos, que se encargaron de separar a los contendientes y a éstos de los granaderos a caballo. Nueve personas precisaron hospitalización.</p> <p>También de madrugada, cuando los colorados comenzaron a echarse a la calle para festejar su triunfo, las Juventudes Blancas que esperan frente a la Suprema Corte de Justicia la noticia de la liberación de Wilson Ferreira, les increparon amargamente: "Ahora está a la vista / ahora está a la vista / el Partido Colorado / es el partido continuista". Pero pese a los incidentes, la tónica de la madrugada del lunes la dió el abrazo de Alberto Zumarán, candidato blanco, al presidente electo Sanguinetti y la explosión callejera a los gritos de "¡Uruguay, Uruguay!" y los vivas a la democracia.</p> <p>Unidad nacional</p> <p>Julio María Sanguinetti, al reconocer su triunfo ante la multitud, aseguró que no gobernaría para el electorado colorado y que insistía en la necesidad de un Gobierno de unidad nacional para superar la crisis de la posdictadura.</p> <p>Líber Seregni, líder del Frente Amplio, en declaraciones a la Prensa internacional, también insistió en la necesidad de un gran acuerdo nacional, pero matizando que el Frente Amplio no aportará ministros al Gobierno.</p> <p>http://elpais.com/diario/1984/11/27/internacional/470358001_850215.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>El presidente electo de Uruguay anuncia un Gobierno de unidad nacional EL PAÍS 27 NOV 1984</p>
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<p>Uruguay 1989</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Jorge Batlle, candidate of the governing Colorado Party, said Sunday night before official returns were released that he had lost the race to Luis Lacalle of the National Party.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> November 26, 1989 <i>Winner:</i> Luis Alberto Lacalle –National Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Jorge Batlle –Colorado Party</p> <p>Uruguayan ruling party’s candidate concedes to opponent before tally is in.</p> <p>Montevideo, Uruguay (AP) November 27, 1989 An opposition presidential candidate led in early returns on Monday after the governing party’s hopeful conceded defeat. Jorge Batlle, candidate of the governing Colorado Party, said Sunday night before official returns were released that he had lost the race to Luis Lacalle of the National Party.</p> <p>http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1989/11/27/page/23/article/uruguayan-ruling-partys-candidate-concedes-to-opponent-before-tally-is-in</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p>

			<p>Uruguay: según los primeros sondeos, el Frente Amplio obtiene la mayoría Luis Alberto Lacalle, posible sustituto de Sanguinetti Montevideo. LUNES 27- 11- 89 INTERNACIONAL Elecciones en Iberoamérica ABC 31 José María del Rey Agencias Los uruguayos participaron ayer masivamente en las segundas elecciones presidenciales desde 1984, cuando se reinstauró la democracia, para escoger al sucesor de Julio María Sanguinetti, del Partido Colorado, así como a un vicepresidente, senadores, diputados y autoridades municipales. Los más de ocho mil circuitos electorales de todo el país fueron visitados desde las primeras horas por los votantes en completa normalidad. Las encuestas efectuadas por el Canal 10 de Televisión daban como vencedor en Montevideo a la coalición izquierdista Frente Amplio, con el 35,3 por 100 de los votos. Según dicho sondeo, realizado a la salida de los colegios electorales, el segundo puesto en Montevideo</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1989/11/27/031.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Luis Lacalle, líder del centroderecha, elegido nuevo presidente de Uruguay MARTES 28- 11- 89 INTERNACIONAL -Elecciones en Iberoamérica- A B C 43 Un socialista ocupa por primera vez la Alcaldía de Montevideo Montevideo. José María del Rey y Agencias.</p> <p>Tras las elecciones generales celebradas el domingo, el mapa político de Uruguay ha cambiado sustancialmente al obtener el triunfo en ellas el hasta ahora opositor Partido Nacional (Blanco) que alcanza la presidencia en la persona de Luis Alberto Lacalle, y la coalición de izquierda Frente Amplio, cuyo candidato logró la Alcaldía de Montevideo. Lo más llamativo de estos comicios ha sido la derrota del oficialista Partido Colorado. La Prensa destacaba ayer en todos sus comentarios el triunfo de la coalición de partidos filomarxistas, Frente Amplio, cuyo candidato, Tabaré Vázquez, consiguió los votos necesarios para obtener la Alcaldía, mientras la presidencia pasaba a manos de Luis Alberto Lacalle.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1989/11/28/043.html</p>
<p>Uruguay 1994</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>All the losers accepted their defeat and did not present any legal suit to challenge the election result. The night</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 27 November 1994 <i>Winner:</i> Julio María Sanguinetti –Colorado Party</p>

		<p>of the election there were incidents of violence, and offices of the Colorado and Blanco Parties were attacked and set on fire, but there is no evidence that the disturbs were initiated by any party leaders.</p>	<p><i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Alberto Volonté, National Party</p> <p>El partido Colorado ganó las presidenciales más reñidas de la historia ABC INTERNACIONAL Iberoamérica Uruguay MARTES 29- 11- 94 La ultraizquierda del Frente Amplio rompe el tradicional bipartidismo Montevideo. Alberto C. Márquez El Partido Colorado del ex presidente Sanguinetti obtuvo un ajustado pero decisivo triunfo en las elecciones celebradas el domingo en Uruguay. Con el 98 por ciento de los votos escrutados, el Partido Colorado lograba 617.470 sufragios; el Blanco se debía conformar con 595.536 y la ultraizquierda del Frente Amplio conseguía unos sorprendentes 585.109 votos que rompen, por vez primera en Uruguay, el tradicional bipartidismo. Los nacionalistas o blancos, del actual presidente Lacalle, han conseguido un total de once Departamentos, los colorados, siete, y el Frente o también denominado Encuentro Progresista de Izquierdas, conquistó nuevamente, con un 43 por ciento de los votos emitidos, el Gobierno [...]</p> <p>DISTURBIOS EN MONTEVIDEO La jornada electoral se desarrollo con gran civismo y sin dificultades, a pesar de la gran afluencia a las urnas (cerca de 90 por ciento). Pero al caer la noche comenzaron a producirse varios desórdenes con heridos de bala, locales de los Partidos Colorado y Blanco atacados, apedreados en incendiados por las columnas compactas de militantes radicales del Frente Amplio.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1994/11/29/036.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>URUGUAY, FIN DEL BIPARTIDISMO MIÉRCOLES 30- 11- 1994 OPINIÓN ABC Pág. 17 L final se ha despejado la incógnita que acompañó los primeros escrutinios de la jornada electoral celebrada el pasado domingo en Uruguay. El socialdemócrata Julio María Sanguinetti, del Partido Colorado, será el nuevo presidente de la República Oriental. Ya ocupó este cargo, entre 1985 y 1990 cuando la nación del Río de la Plata recuperó las instituciones democráticas, tras la dictadura militar. De acuerdo a los resultados oficiales el tradicional bipartidismo- entre el Par 1 tido Nacional (Blanco) de tendencia liberal- conservadora, derrotado el domingo, y el Partido Colorado- que ha caracterizado durante más de cuarenta años la política uruguaya, ha quedado roto. La entrada en escena de la formación denominada Encuentro Progresista, de marcada orientación izquierdista sustentada por el Frente Amplio y otras minoritarias agrupaciones, que ha http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1994/11/30/017.html</p>
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			<p>-0-</p> <p>MIÉRCOLES 30- 11- 94 INTERNACIONAL Iberoamérica ABC 3 5 Uruguay México Sanguinetti se reunió ayer con Lacalle para preparar la transición de poderes Colorados y blancos deberán pactar para hacer frente a la ultraizquierda Montevideo. Alberto C. Márquez Con la reunión ayer en la sede del poder Ejecutivo entre Luis Alberto Lacalle y el nuevo presidente electo, Julio María Sanguinetti, comenzó de hecho la transición de Gobierno que culminará el próximo 1 de marzo con la entrega de la banda presidencial. Se está reproduciendo a la inversa la misma situación de las elecciones anteriores, cuando Sanguinetti, derrotado con su Partido Colorado, recibió la visita del triunfador Lacalle. El mapa político que resulta de estas elecciones generales uruguayas de 1994 permite entrever algunos de los problemas y de las reglas de juego que influirán decisivamente sobre la vida política uruguaya durante el próximo lustro. Ha quedado instalado el</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1994/11/30/035.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>Uruguay 1994. Las elecciones que se llevaron a cabo el 27 de noviembre de 199 fueron organizadas y reguladas por la Corte Electoral de Uruguay (CE). Este órgano especializado se encargó también de realizar el conteo de los votos para determinar al ganador y realizar el conteo último de los votos observados que determinaron al ganador de los comicios. Los principales partidos que contendieron fueron el Partido Colorado, el Partido Nacional, el Frente Amplio y Nuevo espacio (Georgetown, 1994). Ninguno de estos partidos llevó a cabo actos que tensaran la antesala de la elección presidencial.</p> <p>La fortaleza, imparcialidad y legitimidad de la CE se encuentran asentadas en la creación de un sistema de justicia electoral especializada que otorga competencia exclusiva para conocer todo lo relacionado con la materia electoral a una instancia completamente independiente de los demás poderes. Este sistema inició en 1924 y terminó de consolidarse en 1952 a partir de su constitucionalización (Urruty 2007, 2-4, 12).</p> <p>El órgano electoral se encargó de llevar a cabo todos los actos administrativos de organización electoral, así como de desarrollar los comicios a través de los distintos órganos subordinados a éste. Así, la dimensión administrativa de las elecciones fue hecha por ese órgano, independientemente de sus facultades jurisdiccionales de revisión.</p> <p>La tradición democrática uruguaya influyó en el desenlace de las elecciones. Aunque la distancia entre los contendientes fue muy corta, el resultado no representó ningún conflicto para los ciudadanos ni para los actores políticos. En realidad, esta elección presidencial fue sólo la</p>
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			<p>continuación de una tendencia que se había presentado en las elecciones anteriores. La elección de 1994 fue una confirmación de las tendencias electoral-democráticas de este país y no un evento desestructurado y sorpresivo (Mieres 1994, 41).</p> <p>El hecho de que la elección hubiera sido de alta competitividad no representó una amenaza para la democracia porque los actores involucrados estaban conscientes de la siguiente necesidad: el perdedor debía reconocer la derrota para intentar, después de los plazos establecidos de gobierno, materializar sus deseos de llegar al gobierno a través de los procedimientos que en ese momento lo declararon perdedor (Chasquetti y Buquet 2004, 228).</p> <p>Cuando las casillas se habían cerrado, los actores políticos involucrados esperaron el conteo de los votos observados para que se determinara quién había sido el ganador. La CE llevó a cabo el conteo de los votos observados para poder establecer un resultado final. Al contar con el resultado oficial, los perdedores aceptaron la derrota sin presentar ningún recurso jurisdiccional, admitiendo la decisión del órgano electoral.</p> <p>http://www.te.gob.mx/ccje/Archivos/Investigacion_elecciones_competitividad.pdf</p>
<p>Uruguay 1999</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Tabaré Vázquez conceded defeat in a speech at the headquarters of his party, and congratulated the winner.</p>	<p><i>Election date:</i> 29 November 1999 –SECOND ROUND <i>Winner:</i> Jorge Batlle Ibáñez –Colorado Party <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Tabaré Vázquez –Frente Amplio</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1999/11/29/037.html</p> <p>El conservador Jorge Batlle, triunfador en las elecciones presidenciales de Uruguay La coalición de izquierda Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio admite la derrota Lunes 29 noviembre 1999 - N° 1305</p> <p>FRANCESC RELEA, Montevideo Jorge Batlle, el candidato del Partido Colorado que ha monopolizado el poder en Uruguay en la mayor parte del siglo que ahora termina, ganó las elecciones presidenciales de ayer con un 51,59% de los votos frente al 44,07% obtenido por Tabaré Ramón Vázquez Rosas, el candidato de la coalición de izquierda Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio (EP-FA), al culminar el escrutinio de los 6.628 colegios electorales. La victoria de Batlle es más amplia que el estrecho margen de dos puntos que le atribuyeron las últimas encuestas preelectorales.</p>

			<p>Seguidores del Partido Colorado y del Partido Nacional o Blanco, que pidió el voto para Batlle, se congregaron rápidamente en las principales ciudades del país para celebrar la victoria de su candidato. "Ha ganado la democracia y la libertad", clamaba una dirigente del partido vencedor. En el cuartel general del Frente Amplio, el derrotado Vázquez habló ante sus seguidores y felicitó, entre abucheos, al vencedor: "Esta fuerza política siempre estará siempre dispuesta para trabajar por la mejoría de la condición de vida de todos los uruguayos". Las primeras cifras indicaban que el candidato del Partido Colorado triunfó en el interior del país aunque perdió en Montevideo. La participación rondó el 90% de los 2,4 millones de electores.</p> <p>http://www.udel.edu/leipzig/041199/elb291199.html</p>
Uruguay 2004	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Jorge Larranaga, conceded defeat late Sunday, after exit polls indicated Vazquez had over 50 percent of the vote.</p>	<p>Election date: 31 October 2004 Winner: Tabaré Vázquez –Frente Amplio Runner-up candidate: Jorge Larrañaga –National Party</p> <p>Uruguay Por Primera Vez Tiene un Presidente Izquierdista - 2004-11-01 31.10.2004</p> <p>En Uruguay, el líder socialista Tabaré Vazquez, logró la victoria en una importante elección presidencial, y su coalición logró un gran avance en el Congreso, señalando un histórico giro a la izquierda en esa nación sudamericana.</p> <p>El más cercano rival de Vázquez, Jorge Larrañaga, aceptó la derrota el domingo por la noche, después que las encuestas a la salida de los puestos de votación indicaran que Vázquez había obtenido más del 50% de los votos, suficientes para ganar la presidencia y evitar una segunda vuelta electoral.</p> <p>El Frente Amplio, coalición a la que pertenece Vázquez, que incluye a socialistas, comunistas, social demócratas y al ex grupo guerrillero Tupamaros, también logró mayoría en ambas cámaras del Congreso.</p> <p>Los resultados oficiales se esperan para hoy lunes. http://m.voanoticias.com/a/a-2004-11-01-3-1/33200.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Uruguay takes a leftward step in electing Vazquez</p>

			<p>By the A.M. Costa Rica wire services MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay — The country has elected its first leftist president, Tabare Vazquez, who joins a growing list of left-leaning leaders in South America. Final results from Sunday's balloting give Vazquez just over 50 percent of the vote, enough to avoid a run-off. With the Vazquez victory, Uruguay will join Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela as South American countries with left or left-leaning governments. The U.S. State Department Monday congratulated Vazquez on his victory, as did Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez. The new Uruguayan leader is an oncologist and former mayor of this capital. He will serve a five-year term beginning March 1. Vazquez's closest competitor, Jorge Larranaga, conceded defeat late Sunday, after exit polls indicated Vazquez had over 50 percent of the vote.</p> <p>http://www.amcostarica.com/110204.htm</p>
<p>Uruguay 2009</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Current Uruguayan President Tabare Vazquez confirmed the projection to reporters Sunday evening, and Lacalle conceded in a speech.</p>	<p>Election date: 29 November 2009 –SECOND ROUND Winner: José Mujica –Frente Amplio Runner-up candidate: Luis Alberto Lacalle –National Party</p> <p>Exit polls: Ex-guerrilla wins Uruguay presidency November 29, 2009 8:05 p.m. EST Montevideo, Uruguay (CNN) -- Jose "Pepe" Mujica, a former Marxist Tupamaro guerrilla fighter, won Uruguay's presidential runoff election Sunday, exit polls showed. Exit polls had Mujica defeating former president Luis Alberto Lacalle by a margin of 4 to 8 percentage points. Current Uruguayan President Tabare Vazquez confirmed the projection to reporters Sunday evening, and Lacalle conceded in a speech. The streets of the South American country's capital were filled with Mujica's supporters, who cheered and honked their horns. Mujica belongs to the same Broad Front Party as Vazquez, who is popular. Both men are considered leftists. Lacalle is considered more conservative. In a victory speech, Mujica said his administration will continue the policies of Vazquez. "Tomorrow, the commitment continues," he said.</p>

			<p>Mujica, 74, was imprisoned for 14 years and released in 1985 when democracy was restored to Uruguay after a 17-year dictatorship. He was minister of livestock and agriculture from 2005 to 2008 and is now a senator.</p> <p>Mujica has played down his connection with the Tupamaros, who were defeated in 1973. In his victory speech Sunday, Mujica called for unity and asked his followers not to offend those who voted for other candidates during the first and second rounds of voting.</p> <p>His administration may make mistakes, but it will never turn its back to the problems facing the country, Mujica said.</p> <p>"He is the man who talks and dresses austerely," analyst Gabriel Pereyra said of Mujica. "He is the man who communicates and talks the language of the people."</p> <p>Analyst Rosario Queirolo describes Mujica as "a person who somehow lives what he preaches and is an antipolitician in another way."</p> <p>"He doesn't very well fit the image of a president we have in Uruguay," Queirolo said.</p> <p>Uruguay is one of the smallest countries in South America, about the size of Washington state. But it is also considered one of the most economically developed.</p> <p>Located on South America's southeastern coast, the country has a population of 3.5 million, 92 percent of whom live in urban areas.</p> <p>http://www.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/americas/11/29/uruguay.election/index.html?iref=24hours</p> <p>-0-</p>
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Venezuela 1978-2012

Case (System)	Challenges	Justification for Coding	Excerpts and Sources for challenges to election results
Venezuela 1978	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Even though the narrow margin (3.3%), the runner-up candidate Piñerúa and his party did not protest the results. The international press celebrated the peaceful transmission of power to the opposition through the ballot box. The elected president also celebrated the exemplary civic behavior of the Venezuelans.	<p><i>Election date:</i> Domingo 3 de diciembre de 1978 <i>Winner:</i> Luis Herrera Campins - COPEI <i>Runner-up candidate:</i> Luis Piñerúa Ordaz – AD</p> <p>Luis Herrea, virtual presidente electo de Venezuela Caracas, 4 (Agencias). El partido democristiano de la oposición, COPEI aventajaba al gubernamental, Acción Democrática, cuando iban escrutados algo más de medio millón de votos emitidos el pasado domingo en las elecciones generales venezolanas. [...] Asimismo, subrayó su propósito de garantizar la continuidad administrativa en el país. El nuevo presidente electo, que asumirá la Presidencia el próximo marzo, agradeció la “conducta cívica ejemplar” del pueblo venezolano en los comicios y pidió a sus compatriotas que, “así como han sido comprensivos conmigo como candidato lo sigan siendo como presidente.” [...] La clave de la derrota del candidato gubernamental la localizan algunos observadores en la escasa talla política de Luis Piñerúa, quien es solo una sombra al lado de la entidad del presidente actual, Carlos Andrés Pérez.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1978/12/05/037.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Se esperan cambios importantes en la Política Exterior de Venezuela. El Nuevo presidente asegura que será más realista que Carlos Andrés Pérez. Nueva York, 5 (De nuestro corresponsal: CARRASCAL, José María). Demostrando que es una democracia consolidada, Venezuela ha dado el Poder a la oposición a través de las urnas. Las elecciones del Domingo han traído el trínfo de los social cristianos sobre el partido Acción Democrática, lo que es una sorpresa dada la popularidad de que gozaba el presidente Carlos Andrés Pérez, que no pudo presentarse a la reelección, pero que volcó toda su influencia tras el candidato de su partido, Luis Piñerúa. [...] Alternarse en el poder</p>

			<p>Independientemente de los resultados en sí, que satisfacen a unos y desilucionan a otros, la elección tiene un significado valioso: Indica que el pueblo venezolano empieza a comprender la importancia de no solo que haya dos grandes partidos, sino también de que éstos se alternen en el poder, como la forma más sana de gobierno. Es incluso posible que a la postre, lo que ha demostrado la Acción Democrática fuera el recelo de los venezolanos a verla perpetuarse en el gobierno. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1978/12/06/025.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>¿Por qué Capriles no contó los comprobantes de votación en Miranda? Por: Rafael Méndez Martes, 16/04/2013 03:16 PM</p> <p>El propio Luis Herrera Campins en 1978 le ganó a Piñerua por una diferencia de 177.741 votos y los adecos inmediatamente lo reconocieron. http://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/a163690.html</p>
<p>Venezuela 1983</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Caldera conceded defeat after knowing the result of the election, and sent a wire of congratulations to Lusinchi.</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 4 de diciembre de 1983 Winner: Jaime Lusinchi - AD Runner-up candidate: Rafael Caldera - COPEI</p> <p>Carlos Andrés Pérez, el verdadero vencedor en Venezuela Jaime Lusinchi, el candidato socialdemócrata a las elecciones venezolanas, llega (a la izquierda) a la sede de su partido en Caracas, en medio de las aclamaciones de sus seguidores, tras conocer el resultado del escrutinio que le convierte en el nuevo presidente de la nación. A juicio de los observadores políticos, el verdadero vencedor en la jornada electoral que el domingo vivió Venezuela es el ex presidente Carlos Andrés Pérez (a la derecha) gran figura del Partido Socialdemócrata y uno de los dirigentes iberoamericanos de mayor prestigio. (Información en pág. 33) http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1983/12/06/011.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Lusinchi barrio en las urbas a todos sus oponentes Caldera felicita al nuevo presidente</p>

		<p>Caracas. Esther Herrero</p> <p>El Consejo Upremo Electoral (CSE) hizo público ayer los resultados oficiales de la jornada electoral confirmado oficialmente la arrolladora Victoria del candidato socialdemócrata. Los resulstados oficiales son los siguientes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - El socialdemócrata Jaime Lusinchi logrño un 52.61 por 100 de los sugragios. Su partido, Acción Democrática, obtuvo 44.25 por 100 de los sufragios en las elecciones parlamentarias. - El socialcritsiano Rafael Caldera obtuvo el 36.80 por 100 de los sufragios. Su partido, el COPEI obtuvo el 28.31 por 100 de los votos en las elecciones parlamentarias. <p>[...] El gran perdedor en este caso ha sido Rafael Caldera, ya que el triunfo iba a inclinarse claramente a uno u otro lado de la balanza. Sin embargo, supo reconocer con gallardía su derrota electoral mediante un breve discurso ante unos centenares de partidarios que esperaban a las puertas del comando de COPEI y que no podían creer lo que estaba sucediendo. Más tarde, Rafael Caldera envió un telegrama de felicitación a Jaime Lusinchi.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1983/12/06/033.html</p>
<p>Venezuela 1988</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 4 de diciembre de 1988 Winner: Carlos Andrés Pérez - AD Runner-up candidate: Eduardo Fernández – COPEI</p> <p>Carlos Andrés Pérez: Los problemas de Venezuela no se solucionarán por arte de magia Carlos Andrés Pérez, presidente electo de Venezuela tras las elecciones del pasado domingo, aseguró ayer que su Gobierno no tomará ninguna decisión sobre los problemas limítrofes que tiene la nación sin realizar antes una consulta nacional. El dirigente socialdemócrata (en la imagen) que obtuvo más del cincuenta por ciento de los votos, advirtió que los problemas del país no se solucionarán por arte de magia, sino que será necesario trabajar mucho para lograrlo</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1988/12/06/007.html</p> <p>Triunfo socialdemócrata en Venezuela A B C 27 Carlos Andrés Pérez perfila las líneas de una presidencia socialista a la europea El derrotado Fernández anuncia ya su candidatura para 1993 Caracas. Manuel Blanco Tobío, enviado especial Los venezolanos han preferido la experiencia y la política tradicional a la juventud y el cambio, y por eso han votado a Carlos Andrés Pérez. Quizá haya que añadir que la personalidad de éste es carismática al contrario que la de su competidor, Eduardo Fernández, que ya ha dicho que repetirá</p>

			<p>en 1993. Pérez, a quien en lo sucesivo llamaremos como le llaman aquí, CAP, accede por Segundo vez a la presidencia de la República. [...]</p> <p>Las elecciones no produjeron un solo incidente digno de nota, salvo que unos cuantos tanques salieron a la calle en Maracaibo para apaciguar a “copeianos” y “adecos” que alborotaban. Los tanques salieron cumpliendo órdenes del Consejo Supremo Electoral. La gente celebró con entusiasmo la victoria de Cap. Pero aún puso más regocijo en la victoria de su democracia. Fue la alegría de un pueblo que ve alejarse, al fin, el tercermundismo y la cultura política del subdesarrollo, para ingresar en el “club” de las democracias consagradas.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1988/12/06/027.html</p> <p>5 de octubre de 2011 13:07:21</p> <p>Caracas, Venezuela EFE</p> <p>Miles de personas asisten al velatorio del expresidente venezolano Carlos Andrés Pérez</p> <p>Los restos llegaron anoche a Venezuela en un vuelo comercial procedente de Miami y fueron trasladados a la sede del que fuera su partido político, Acción Democrática</p> <p>El político del partido social cristiano Copei Eduardo Fernández, quien compitió contra Pérez en las elecciones presidenciales de 1988 y fue derrotado, acudió al velatorio a rendir homenaje a quien fuera su rival.</p> <p>"He venido a rendir el testimonio de mi respeto y admiración (...) a la memoria de un gran venezolano, quien fuera dos veces electo presidente de Venezuela, por votación popular", dijo Fernández a su paso por la casa de AD.</p> <p>http://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/internacionales/115891</p>
<p>Venezuela 1993</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Claudio Fermin, the candidate of AD, conceded defeat and congratulated Caldera for his victory.</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 5 de diciembre de 1993 Winner: Rafael Caldera - Convergencia Runner-up candidate: Claudio Fermín - AD</p> <p>MARTES 7- 12- 93 INTERNACIONAL Iberoamérica ABC 33 Venezuela</p> <p>Caldera propone un acuerdo nacional sincero tras su triunfo electoral Los primeros resultados dan a Velásquez el segundo lugar Caracas. Miguel Salvatierra, enviado especial</p>

			<p>El nuevo presidente de Venezuela Rafael Caldera, tras su triunfo de ayer, propuso al país un acuerdo nacional sincero y prometió una transición austera porque austero será el nuevo régimen La incógnita del segundo lugar quedó finalmente ayer resuelta a favor del ex dirigente sindical y gobernador del Estado de Bolívar, Andrés Velásquez de Causa Radical. Esta fuerza emergente, desde posturas de izquierda intenta ampliarse al centro.</p> <p>Causa Radical se convertirá en la principal fuerza de la oposición. El CSE, que ante la lentitud de su escrutinio decidió el domingo autorizar a los medios de información que hicieran públicas sus proyecciones, confirmó ayer desde su primer boletín el triunfo de Caldera. [...] Caldera, en cambio, elogió abiertamente al candidato de AD que momentos antes había reconocido su victoria y felicitado por el triunfo. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1993/12/07/033.html</p> <p>¿Por qué Capriles no contó los comprobantes de votación en Miranda? Por: Rafael Méndez Martes, 16/04/2013 03:16 PM</p> <p>Cuando los burguesitos ganan, quieren que les reconozcan su triunfo inmediatamente, así sea por un sufragio, Ejemplos sobran, Rafael Caldera en 1968, le ganó a Gonzalo Barrios por solamente 32706 votos en el acto Rómulo Betancourt y AD le aceptaron su victoria, y luego nuevamente en 1993 Caldera gana a Claudio Fermín por la mínima diferencia e inmediatamente Alfaro Ucero y AD le reconocieron su triunfo. http://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/a163690.html</p>
Venezuela 1998	1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0	Henrique Salas Römer conceded defeat. Even the incumbent president, Carlos Andrés Pérez, against whom Chavez organized a military coup, recognized Chavez's victory.	<p>Election date: domingo 6 de diciembre de 1998 Winner: Hugo Chávez – MVR (MAS, MEP, PCV, PPT) Runner-up candidate: Henrique Salas Römer – PrVzla (AD, COPEI)</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>El ex golpista Hugo Chávez afirma, tras ganar las elecciones venezolanas, que demostrará que no es el diablo Hugo Chávez se proclamó ayer virtual presidente de Venezuela al obtener más del cincuenta por ciento de los votos electorales. Su más inmediato rival, el socialcristiano Henrique Salas Romer, consiguió cerca del cuarenta y la ex Miss Universo, Irene Sánchez, apenas un tres y medio. El ex golpista Chávez declaró tras su victoria que se siente el presidente de todos los venezolanos y que</p>

			<p>demostrará que no es el diablo. La jornada electoral se desarrolló con absoluta normalidad. En la imagen, Hugo Chávez, ayer, en el momento de su llegada al colegio electoral. (Sección Internacional) http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1998/12/07/007.html</p> <p>-0-</p> <p>LUNES 7- 12- 98 INTERNACIONAL ABC 127 Venezuela elige presidente a un golpista - Siete años después de intentar tomar el poder por las armas, Chávez vence en las urnas - Crisis de los partidos tradicionales tras su unánime apoyo al derrotado Salas Romer Caracas. Carmen Muñoz, enviada especial Casi siete años después de intentar llegar al poder por la vía de las armas, el teniente coronel retirado Hugo Chávez se ha convertido en el nuevo presidente de Venezuela tras su contundente victoria en las elecciones celebradas ayer. Según los resultados oficiales, el ex militar golpista se impuso sobre su rival inmediato, el socialcristiano Henrique Salas Romer, por un margen de 16,5 puntos de diferencia. El propio Salas reconoció anoche su derrota. Pese a las insistentes advertencias sobre un estallido de violencia, la votación se desarrolló con tranquilidad y fluidez en todo el país; anoche imperaba la algarabía en las calles de Caracas. [...] Por su parte, el ex presidente Carlos Andrés Pérez, contra quien se alzó en armas Hugo Chávez, afirmó que aunque hasta ahora no había podido tener relaciones con él “por razones obvias” reconocía su victoria y le ofrecía su colaboración. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1998/12/07/027.html</p> <p>-0- Lunes 7 de Diciembre de 1998</p> <p>Por Amplio Margen: Chávez Ganó la Presidencia en Venezuela Por Juan Pablo Toro, Enviado Especial El Mercurio</p> <p>Contabilizado el 76,73 por ciento de los sufragios, el Consejo Nacional Electoral le otorgó el 56,36 por ciento de los votos.</p> <p>Su principal contendiente, Henrique Salas Römer, logró el 35,58 por ciento de los sufragios.</p>
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			<p>Tras conocer su triunfo, el futuro Mandatario envió un mensaje de tranquilidad a los inversionistas y de reconciliación al país.</p> <p>CARACAS.- El candidato del Polo Patriótico, Hugo Chávez Frías, obtuvo ayer un holgado triunfo en las elecciones presidenciales venezolanas con un 56,36 por ciento de los votos (2.897.999) frente a un 35,58 por ciento (2.035.080) de su rival más cercano, el abanderado del Polo Democrático, Henrique Salas Römer, cuando se habían escrutado 76,73 por ciento de los votos.</p> <p>Según dio a conocer el Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE) a las 18.25 horas locales (19.25 de Chile) a través de su plana mayor, encabezada por su presidente Rafael Parra Pérez, Chávez obtenía una victoria indiscutida en este proceso electoral, que estuvo marcado por una campaña a veces agresiva y confusa.</p> <p>En sus primeras palabras tras conocer el anuncio, el hombre que gobernará Venezuela por los próximos cinco años dijo que asumía su triunfo "lleno de humildad".</p> <p>"Aprendí esas máximas en lo que es la ciencia del combate, y este es un combate por el país. Aprendí que cuando uno va a la batalla y obtiene una victoria tan resonante como ésta, uno debe llenarse primero que nada de humildad", afirmó el ex teniente coronel de paracaidistas que el 4 de febrero de 1992 intentó dar un golpe de Estado contra el entonces Presidente Carlos Andrés Pérez, para imponer ideales de justicia social inspirados en el pensamiento de Simón Bolívar.</p> <p>Chávez, desde una habitación del Hotel Hilton, donde se instaló para esperar los resultados de los comicios, abogó porque 1999 sea el año de la "reconciliación" entre los venezolanos. "Ese es mi llamado como nuevo Presidente de la Nación", afirmó.</p> <p>Sobre las primeras medidas que podría tomar su Gobierno, el candidato de la coalición integrada por el Movimiento V República, el Movimiento al Socialismo y el Partido Patria para Todos admitió preferir pronunciarse en febrero, cuando asuma oficialmente el cargo.</p> <p>Sin embargo, advirtió, para la tranquilidad de los inversionistas internacionales, que ratificaba su mensaje de que su país va hacia un equilibrio macroeconómico. "Nosotros no vamos a devaluar la moneda, vamos a mantener el sistema de bandas para conservar el equilibrio cambiario, no vamos tampoco a establecer un control de cambio, nosotros vamos a generar confianza".</p> <p>Asimismo, Chávez enfatizó la importancia de la "confianza". El líder del Polo Patriótico, cuya crítica contra el sistema político imperante caló hondo en la población, aseguró que las inversiones</p>
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		<p>extranjeras estarán garantizadas en su país. Además, hizo un pedido para que inviertan en su país y llamó a sus compatriotas a mantener sus capitales.</p> <p>La Casa Blanca contactó la noche del domingo al Presidente electo, reveló el propio Chávez.</p> <p>SALAS RÖMER RECONOCE DERROTA</p> <p>Una hora después de conocerse los resultados, Salas Römer reconoció emocionado su derrota y afirmó "que lo hermoso del sistema democrático es la posibilidad de ganar perdiendo". En un acto de nobleza, deseó mucha suerte a su adversario porque "su suerte es la de todos los venezolanos".</p> <p>Inmediatamente después de que se conoció el resultado de los comicios, se dejaron sentir en Caracas muestras de júbilo a través de fuegos artificiales, bocinazos y gritos de alegría.</p> <p>Muchos simpatizantes del "Comandante Chávez", como lo apodan sus partidarios con respeto y admiración, se dirigieron al centro de eventos "El Ateneo", donde tenía anunciado premonitoriamente un acto para celebrar su victoria, y al cierre de esta edición el lugar se había convertido en una verdadera fiesta.</p> <p>Con las cifras parciales entregadas ayer se confirmaron las proyecciones de las encuestas a boca de urna que desde muy temprano anunciaban la diferencia de más de 15 puntos entre los dos principales candidatos a Presidente de Venezuela. Además, se fueron por la borda las aspiraciones del empresario y ex gobernador de Carabobo, Salas Römer, quien durante todo el día llamó a no creer en los exit polls a la espera de un pronunciamiento definitivo del CNE.</p> <p>De este modo, se puede decir que en Venezuela triunfó el deseo de las clases populares y sectores de las clases medias que pedían la llegada a la jefatura de Estado de un hombre que no perteneciera a la clase política tradicional, que sufre un profundo desprestigio por las acusaciones de corrupción que pesan sobre ella. En especial contra los socialcristianos del Copei y los centroderechistas de Acción Democrática, quienes a último momento se sumaron a la causa de Salas Römer, en otra muestra de su política acomodaticia, que indignó incluso a muchos de sus partidarios.</p> <p>El "temor" hacia un supuesto gobierno dictatorial y populista que hipotéticamente significaba la llegada de Chávez al Palacio de Miraflores no fue suficiente para cambiar el ánimo de un pueblo que sólo piensa en acabar con la pobreza que afecta al 70 % de la población y que sufre una inflación del 30 %. Pese a ser uno de los principales productores de petróleo del mundo, el deterioro del precio internacional del crudo hizo insostenible una situación de empobrecimiento que se venía</p>
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			<p>dando desde hace dos décadas, por un liderazgo considerado incompetente y más preocupado por sus propios intereses que los de la mayoría.</p> <p>Por su parte, el ministro de Defensa venezolano, vicealmirante Tito Rincón, aseguró que las Fuerzas Armadas respetarán "totalmente" los resultados que otorgaron la victoria al teniente coronel (r) Hugo Chávez.</p> <p>NORMALIDAD DEL PROCESO</p> <p>El contexto del proceso electoral por el cual los venezolanos eligieron a su Presidente por los próximos cinco años estuvo marcado por una jornada donde la normalidad fue la regla. Además, la concurrencia de los votantes se efectuó desde muy temprano, lo que permitió adelantar la entrega de los resultados oficiales parciales que se tenía prevista originalmente para las ocho de la noche.</p> <p>En el Liceo Andrés Bello, ubicado en la Avenida México en el municipio de Libertador de Caracas, diez minutos después de la hora oficial de apertura (las 6:00 AM), ya se encontraban los vocales y personal del Consejo Nacional Electoral, afinando los últimos detalles para permitir a los votantes ejercer su derecho ciudadano.</p> <p>La delegación de observadores internacionales del Carter Center, que encabezan el ex Presidente de Estados Unidos Jimmy Carter y los ex mandatarios de Chile y Bolivia Patricio Aylwin y Gónzalo Sánchez de Lozada, pudo constatar personalmente cómo a las 6.30 las mesas estaban en vías de constituirse en esta plaza, donde votan aproximadamente 10.000 personas.</p> <p>El ex Presidente Aylwin destacó el orden y la tranquilidad con que empezó a efectuarse este proceso y lo novedoso del sistema automatizado de votación. Consultado por "El Mercurio" sobre estos comicios que han polarizado a la sociedad venezolana, el ex Mandatario dijo que sus expectativas eran "que todo se desarrolle en orden y funcione la democracia en este país".</p> <p>Por su parte, Carter reconoció que todo iba "bien" hasta el momento. A su vez, Sánchez de Losada descartó a "El Mercurio" toda eventualidad de fraude. "No creo que sería posible, hay mucho control", dijo.</p> <p>Más tarde, a las 7.30 de la mañana, en el Colegio Tomás de Aquino, en el acomadado municipio de Chacao, los votantes concurrían fluidamente a las urnas. con Este marco de normalidad se repitió en todo el país, con contadas excepciones, como en la región oriental, donde una intensa lluvia demoraba el acceso a los centros de votación.</p>
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			<p>Gran expectación causó el momento en que los dos principales candidatos concurren a ejercer su derecho ciudadano.</p> <p>Salas Römer sufragó a las 10 de la mañana en el Instituto Ana Virginia Escobar de Valencia, la capital del Estado de Carabobo, del cual fue gobernador desde 1993. El líder del Polo Democrático dijo sentirse "alegre, junto a su familia, y tranquilo espiritualmente". Sobre un posible resultado, el candidato aseguró que "ha tenido suerte" en otras oportunidades.</p> <p>Por su parte, el ex militar Hugo Chávez acudió a votar al pueblo de Barutas, en el Estado de Miranda, a sólo 20 kilómetros de la capital. El candidato, quien tenía previsto llegar originalmente a las 10 de la mañana, se hizo presente en el lugar una hora más tarde en medio de unas 1.000 personas que esperaban ansiosas al "Comandante Chávez".</p> <p>Luego de sortear a sus adherentes, quienes no lo dejaban ingresar al recinto pre-escolar Nuestra Señora del Rosario y gritaban insistentemente "Chávez amigo, el pueblo está contigo" y "Chávez Presidente", el abanderado del Polo Patriótico pudo pasar al edificio colonial.</p> <p>En el interior lo esperaba gran cantidad de periodistas que forcejeaban con sus guardaespaldas para obtener unas palabras del candidato. Interrogado por "El Mercurio" sobre su pronóstico de los resultados dijo "estoy seguro que triunfo". También alentó a la gente a continuar votando. Su salida, a la doce en punto, fue tan caótica como su ingreso.</p> <p>El fervor casi religioso que despierta el fundador del MVR se hizo sentir hasta que su vehículo se alejó del lugar. Fueron estos acontecimientos los que precedieron una jornada que se ha dicho cambiará la historia de esta democracia de 40 años que lucha por seguir perfeccionándose en busca de sus opciones propias para hacer justicia social y que resistió las tentaciones de una ex miss universo, quien tras liderar las encuestas por meses, sólo obtuvo un 3,13 % de los votos, y un dirigente tradicional, Luis Alfaro Ucero, quien fue expulsado de AD y sólo logró 0,36 % de los votos.</p> <p>Tomado de El Mercurio de Chile</p> <p>http://www.angelfire.com/nb/17m/Chavez/mercurio.html</p> <p>28 INTERNACIONAL M R E 1- 8- 2000 ABC ATS</p> <p>Arias reconoce la derrota, pero afirma que seguirá la lucha desde la oposición</p>
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			<p>El alcalde del centro de Caracas pide una revisión ante su descalabro Francisco Arias ha anunciado que seguirá en la arena política a pesar de que ia derrota de su candidatura presidencial le dejó políticamente desamparado en medio de un océano de chavismo. Pero no era el único que se lamía ayer sus heridas tras el torbellino bolivariano. El alcalde del Municipio Libertador, el centro de Caracas, Antonio Ledezma, ha pedido una revisión que explique su inesperada derrota.</p> <p>http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/2000/08/01/028.html</p>
<p>Venezuela 2000</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Main opposition leader, Francisco Arias Cardenas, conceded defeat yesterday but pledged to continue his fight against Chavez's regime.</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 30 de julio de 2000. Winner: Hugo Chávez - MVR Runner-up candidate: Francisco Arias Cárdenas - LCR</p> <p>Martes, 01.08.2000. Chávez promete un cambio revolucionario El recién reelegitnado presidente de Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, tiene ante sí el segundo gran reto de su gobierno.</p> <p>Una vez conocidos los resultados de las elecciones presidenciales del pasado domingo, que le otorgaron una convincente victoria, Chávez prometió implementar una nueva política económica para hacer frente a la crisis que afecta el país.</p> <p>El mandatario venezolano instó a los inversionistas extranjeros a seguir confiando en el país y los invitó a participar en el nuevo programa, al cual calificó como revolucionario. Según dijo a la BBC el canciller y principal aliado de Chávez, José Vicente Rangel, las condiciones están dadas para que haya una "apertura a fondo de la economía del país. Para que la inversión extranjera y el capital nacional incursionen en áreas vitales de la economía".</p> <p>Rangel resaltó los logros de Chávez al frente del gobierno.</p> <p>"Él prometió una nueva constitución y en pocos meses la tuvimos. Relegitimamos al presidente y ahora el compromiso es con los sectores económicos y sociales del país", aseguró Rangel.</p> <p>Otra voz</p>

			<p>Hugo Chávez venció a su antiguo compañero de armas Francisco Arias Cárdenas.</p> <p>Cárdenas reconoció su derrota una vez contabilizado el 87% del escrutinio, en el que obtuvo sólo el 38% de los votos contra 59% de Chávez.</p> <p>A pesar de la holgada diferencia, el principal candidato de la oposición aseguró que volverá a competir por la presidencia de Venezuela.</p> <p>"Yo no siento para nada que estemos hablando de una derrota en este momento, pero estamos hablando de una gran responsabilidad frente a Venezuela", señaló Cárdenas. http://www.bbc.co.uk/spanish/news/news000801venezuela.shtml</p> <p>July 31, 2000, 10: 32 AM Venezuela's President Chavez Wins Again</p> <p>Venezuelans danced in the streets and set off fireworks Monday to celebrate President Hugo Chavez's reelection. Early results showed him as a winner once again.</p> <p>Chavez's social revolution has given new hope to the country's poor and his fiery rhetoric has terrified the wealthy.</p> <p>Results of congressional races are still pending, and are crucial to Chavez's plans to complete his overhaul of Venezuela's political and social landscape. Partial results from Sunday's vote indicated his allies captured 13 of the country's 23 governorships and the capital's mayorship.</p> <p>With 77 percent of the votes counted, the National Electoral Council gave 59 percent to Chavez and 38 percent to his main challenger, former Zulia Gov. Francisco Arias Cardenas. Turnout among the 12 million eligible voters appeared higher than expected, although no official numbers were released.</p> <p>"Hugo, I am sure that nothing and no one can stop you now," Cuban President Fidel Castro told his friend Chavez in a chummy telephone conversation Saturday.</p> <p>Outside the presidential palace, a nine-piece salsa band lit up and people danced in the streets, hugging complete strangers and yelling "We won!" Thousands more, many of them wearing the president's trademark red paratrooper's beret, swarmed through the gates, screaming Chavez's name.</p>
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		<p>"You really love me, don't you?" a smiling Chavez asked from a balcony draped with the Venezuelan flag. To the cheers of the crowd, he pledged: "Everything I have in life, I give to you."</p> <p>In an emotional victory speech in which he often broke into song, Chavez pledged to refocus his "social revolution" from the dismantling of Venezuela's old political order to the rescue of the economy and social services.</p> <p>Chavez was remarkably conciliatory to the business community, which he decried during the campaign as part of the "rancid oligarchy."</p> <p>"Fear no more," he told business leaders. "We need to put fear behind us and save the Venezuelan economy."</p> <p>Whether he can win back those leaders will be a key test of his new term. Most wealthy Venezuelans supported his main challenger, Arias, calling Chavez a dictator who was driving the country to ruin.</p> <p>Since Chavez took office in February 1999, living standards for the country's poor majority have fallen and the economy has gone into a tailspin. The gross domestic product shrank by 7 percent last year despite a quadrupling in the price of oil, Venezuela's main export.</p> <p>And Chavez's rhetoric of class struggle and talk of following Cuba's path terrified the business class. Thousands of wealthy Venezuelans have fled to Miami, and \$8 billion in capital has flown overseas.</p> <p>"Our young people are going to the United States by the thousands and thousands," said Alberto Franceschi, an opposition candidate for a Caracas borough presidency. "Nobody opens a business. Nobody wants to invest anything. Nobody buys anything."</p> <p>Arias refused to concede defeat in a speech early Monday. He cautioned: "This is not the final event in the history of our country" and vowed to "maintain the civic struggle."</p> <p>"This country wants and seeks to live in freedom," he said. "It wants and seeks democracy."</p> <p>In addition to the presidency, the voting determined the makeup of a new, 165-member unicameral legislature, governors, mayors and other offices - all institutions that had to be "re-legitimized" under a new constitution Chavez pushed through after taking office last year.</p>
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			<p>No results were available on the congressional races, but the president's movement was expected to win at least a simple majority in the legislature. Still, Chavez could fall short of the two-thirds needed to rubber-stamp presidential appointments and proposed laws.</p> <p>Those results will be crucial for the opposition's ability to maintain a voice in Venezuelan politics as Chavez tries to parlay his overwhelming support into even deeper reform.</p> <p>©2000 The Associated Press. All Rights Reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten, or redistributed http://www.cbsnews.com/news/venezuelas-president-chavez-wins-again/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>01 August 2000</p> <p>With 84 percent of the votes in yesterday's election counted, Venezuelan President, Hugo Chavez, was re-elected with 59 percent, a clear majority however, not the two-thirds Chavez wanted to complete his overhaul of Venezuela's political and social landscape. Main opposition leader, Francisco Arias Cardenas, conceded defeat yesterday but pledged to continue his fight against Chavez's regime.</p> <p>(Trinidad Guardian, p.1) http://hostings.diplomacy.edu/iirt/chronology/update2h.htm</p>
<p>Venezuela 2006</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Rosales conceded defeat</p>	<p>Election date: domingo 3 de diciembre de 2006 Winner: Hugo Chávez - MVR Runner-up candidate: Manuel Rosales – UNT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Hugo Chávez proclamó su victoria y el opositor Manuel Rosales reconoció su derrota en las elecciones El mandatario venezolano ganó la reelección con 61,35 por ciento de los votos, según los primeros resultados oficiales entregados por el Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE). "Nosotros reconocemos que hoy nos vencieron", dijo Rosales al hablar desde su comando.</p>

			<p>Rosales alcanzó un 38,39 por ciento de la votación. El resultado corresponde al escrutinio del 78,31 por ciento de las actas de los puestos de votación.</p> <p>"Todo está consumado, (es) la gran victoria de la Revolución Bolivariana", exclamó el mandatario en un discurso ante sus seguidores, que victoreaban a su líder bajo una lluvia torrencial en Caracas. Ante una multitud de partidarios con camisetas rojas que agitaban banderas venezolanas, Chávez afirmó que "el reino del socialismo es el reino del futuro venezolano".</p> <p>El actual jefe de Estado obtenía 5.936.141 votos contra 3.715.292 del gobernador de Zulia, informó la titular del CNE Tibusay Lucena al dar a conocer los resultados electorales parciales.</p> <p>Chávez le dedicó su victoria a Cuba y a Fidel Castro</p> <p>Chávez afirmó que su reelección "es otra derrota para el diablo que pretende dominar al mundo", en un inflamado discurso en el "balcón de la victoria" en el Palacio presidencial de Miraflores.</p> <p>Chávez, quien se proyecta como heredero del presidente de Cuba, Fidel Castro, llamó diablo ante la Asamblea General de la ONU al presidente estadounidense, George W. Bush.</p> <p>"Venezuela nunca será colonia norteamericana ni de nadie", enfatizó el mandatario, al tiempo que envió "al pueblo norteamericano nuestro saludo y nuestra solidaridad".</p> <p>Dedicó su victoria "también al pueblo cubano y al presidente Fidel Castro".</p> <p>Señaló que recibió llamados de felicitaciones del presidente argentino Néstor Kirchner y de su esposa, así como del presidente electo de Ecuador, Rafael Correa.</p> <p>Encuesta a boca de urna ya lo había dado como ganador</p> <p>"En los últimos resultados que tenemos, estamos con un resultado muy similar a la anterior" encuesta de antes de las elecciones, que había arrojado 57 por ciento para Chávez y 38 por ciento para el opositor Manuel Rosales, dijo a la AFP Alex Evans, director de la empresa de sondeos. La encuesta fue contratada por la empresa petrolera CITGO, filial estadounidense de la estatal petrolera PDVSA.</p> <p>Evans, que declinó dar los números exactos de la encuesta de boca de urna conducida este domingo, dijo que a medida que la tarde avanza el resultado a favor de Chávez aumenta. La encuesta fue realizada a las 15:30 locales (19:30 GMT).</p> <p>La mayor parte de los centros de votación, que debían cerrar a las 16:00 locales (20:00 GMT) aún permanecen abiertos por la presencia de colas, según el Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE).</p> <p>El corte de la encuesta fue realizado a las 15:30 locales (19:30 GMT) y fueron consultados 250.000 electores en 21 estados y el Distrito Federal.</p> <p>Los venezolanos se volcaron masivamente a las urnas el domingo para elegir presidente para el periodo 2007-2013, entre Chávez, que busca su reelección para implantar el socialismo, y el gobernador Rosales, que propone una democracia social con economía de mercado.</p> <p>Desde las 6:00 locales (10:00 GMT) largas colas de hasta cinco cuadras fueron formadas por los electores que esperaron pacientemente hasta cuatro horas.</p> <p>Seguidores de Hugo Chávez anticipan celebración</p>
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		<p>Cientos de partidarios del presidente Hugo Chávez proclamaban su victoria la noche del domingo en la Plaza Altamira, lugar emblemático para la oposición en la zona residencial del este de Caracas, antes de que se conocieran los resultados oficiales.</p> <p>Algunos chavistas, ataviados de rojo, bailaban, cantaban y sonaban silbatos, mientras otros lanzaban cohetes y fuegos artificiales. Camiones con equipos de sonido animaban la celebración, mientras continuaban llegando autobuses con más seguidores del gobierno.</p> <p>La plaza fue centro de protestas opositoras y estuvo tomada por militares disidentes durante casi un año, entre 2002 y 2003.</p> <p>Irregularidades en votación en Venezuela fueron solucionadas, dicen observadores internacionales</p> <p>La jefa de la misión de observación electoral de la Unión Europea (UE), Mónica Frassoni, indicó que hubo retrasos en la apertura de algunas mesas, aunque en un número mínimo.</p> <p>Agregó que las mesas de votación evaluadas por los miembros de esta misión internacional funcionaron con total fluidez, en los 17 estados donde están distribuidos los 140 miembros de la delegación.</p> <p>"A nosotros, no nos importa los resultados de estas elecciones, sino cómo se ha desarrollado la jornada comicial. Eso es lo más importante en este momento", indicó Frassoni.</p> <p>José Virtuoso presidente de la ONG venezolana Ojo Electoral, informó que de 564 votantes consultados en toda Venezuela, 70 por ciento aseguró que el proceso electoral ha sido fácil, 25 por ciento del electorado lo califica como normal y 5 por ciento considera que ha sido difícil.</p> <p>Para 64 por ciento de los ciudadanos la votación ha sido rápida, mientras 36 por ciento estimó que transcurre de manera lenta.</p> <p>Virtuoso alertó que no se han respetado «escrupulosamente» las normas relativas a la propaganda y publicidad establecidas por el Consejo Nacional Electoral en medios impresos, radioeléctricos y manifestaciones públicas.</p> <p>El representante de Ojo Electoral indicó además que recibieron denuncias acerca de que se removía la tinta indeleble usada para marcar los dedos de los sufragantes tras la votación, pero que dichos reclamos no fueron comprobados.</p> <p>Algunos retrasos en centros de votación fueron superados al atardecer, según Virtuoso.</p> <p>Publicación eltiempo.com Sección Otros Fecha de publicación 2 de diciembre de 2006 Autor http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-3351218</p>
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<p>Venezuela 2012</p>	<p>1 = 0 2 = 0 3 = 0</p>	<p>Henrique Capriles, was gracious in defeat, saying, "I accept and respect the decision of the people,"</p>	<p>Election date: 7 de octubre de 2012 Winner: Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías - PSUV Runner-up candidate: Henrique Capriles Radonski - PJ</p> <p>La derrota pone a prueba la unidad de la oposición La frustración tras la nueva victoria de Chávez puede poner en peligro hasta la propia unión de los opositores LUIS PRADOS / MAYE PRIMERA Caracas 8 OCT 2012 - 18:47 CET “No se sientan derrotados, séntanse orgullosos. El camino se construyó. Hemos sembrado muchas semillas por toda Venezuela”. Con estas palabras trató de elevar la moral de sus partidarios el líder de la oposición, Henrique Capriles, nada más reconocer su derrota ante el presidente Hugo Chávez la noche del domingo. Y ayer volvió a la carga a través de su cuenta de twitter al escribir: “Voy a seguir trabajando y no están solos, somos millones”. Pero todo aliento será poco para sacar a sus simpatizantes del abatimiento y frustración que ha generado el resultado electoral. Los opositores habían concebido grandes esperanzas, tal como se había desarrollando la campaña, de que esta vez sí era posible ganar al comandante y evitar seis años más de populismo excluyente.</p> <p>La oposición, unida por primera vez bajo el rótulo de Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (MUD), alianza de una veintena de partidos que van desde la derecha a grupos afiliados a la Internacional Socialista, había encontrado al fin un líder con identidad popular y cuya juventud le hacía inmune a cualquier ataque por complicidad con el viejo sistema político que colapsó en 1998. Capriles además hizo una gran campaña, recorriendo el país varias veces, dando dos mítines diarios, con un discurso centrado en la incompetencia de los Gobiernos de Chávez, que aceptaba su obra social y evitaba entrar en el cuerpo a cuerpo de las descalificaciones. La victoria parecía estar cerca. Pero el sueño se desvaneció la noche del domingo y ahora la frustración de la derrota puede poner en peligro hasta la propia unión de los opositores. Ramón Guillermo Avelado, secretario ejecutivo de la MUD, se apresuró a enviar ayer un mensaje de tranquilidad: “La unidad no se va a acabar. Debe permanecer. Hay un camino y sería lamentable que perdamos todo lo que hemos ganado. No tenemos un país de repuesto”.</p> <p>Esa unidad se pondrá a prueba en las elecciones a la gobernación de varios Estados y alcaldías previstas para mediados de diciembre. Algunos analistas creen que dentro de la MUD algunos partidos se pedirán explicaciones unos a otros por el fracaso electoral del domingo. En concreto, no</p>

			<p>se explican cómo se pudo perder en el Estado de Zulia, territorio teórico del partido Nuevo Tiempo. La candidatura de Capriles solo venció en dos Estados –Táchira y Miranda- de los 24 que forman la República de Venezuela. Sin embargo, mantener la MUD parece la única garantía de lograr un resultado que sirviese de consuelo y consolidación del proyecto político opositor y evitar que sus simpatizantes, galvanizados ayer por esta campaña, vuelvan a la abstención mañana.</p> <p>La oposición, pese a perder, obtuvo más de seis millones de votos, el 44.5% de los votos, a nueve puntos de Chávez, la distancia más corta lograda hasta ahora en las elecciones celebradas en estos 14 años, que suponen casi dos millones más que los obtenidos en 2006 . Ese año, el comandante venció al candidato opositor entonces, Manuel Rosales, por el 25,94% de los sufragios; en 2000 a Francisco Arias Cárdenas por el 37,52% de diferencia y el 1999 a Henrique Salas Romer por el 31,48%.</p> <p>Algunos opositores desempolvaron ayer la idea de fraude, pero era un debate estéril una vez que Capriles había aceptado desde el principio las reglas del juego. La oposición era plenamente consciente de que el Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE) estaba dominado por miembros chavistas en su dirección –cuatro rectores del oficialismo por uno solo de la oposición- y de que había hecho la vista gorda durante los meses de campaña al uso y abuso por parte de Chávez de los recursos del Estado. Pero nunca puso en duda que técnicamente en lo que se refiere al escrutinio de los votos el CNE era irreprochable.</p> <p>El chavismo puede haber ejercido coacciones sobre los votantes o contar con un inmenso voto cautivo ganado con los subsidios, pero eso solo no explica su abultada victoria. La oposición debe buscar en sus propias filas los razones de la derrota, desde el fracaso para movilizar la simpatía espontánea que despertó hasta su relación con un pasado que aún hoy para millones de venezolanos sigue asociado a la corrupción de las élites pasando por una visión de su país, donde los excluidos ha sido considerados tradicionalmente figurantes de la historia.</p> <p>http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2012/10/08/actualidad/1349714863_060893.html</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-0-</p> <p>Chavez challenger Henrique Capriles concedes defeat in Venezuelan election AFP OCTOBER 08, 2012 2:55PM VENEZUELA'S Hugo Chavez shrugged off cancer and a unified opposition to triumph yet again at the ballot box and win another six-year mandate to pursue his oil-funded socialist revolution</p>
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			<p>His rival, 40-year-old Miranda state governor Henrique Capriles, was gracious in defeat, saying, "I accept and respect the decision of the people," but it was a bitter pill for the opposition and many in the divided country to swallow.</p> <p>Fireworks erupted across Caracas as "Chavistas" celebrated in front of the presidential palace after near-complete official results showed Mr Chavez winning 54.42 percent of votes compared to 44.97 percent for Mr Capriles.</p> <p>"Thank you my dear people!!! Viva Venezuela!!!" Mr Chavez, in power for almost 14 years, wrote on Twitter after the National Electoral Council announced the score. "Thank you God! Thank you to all of you!"</p> <p>The result after a massive 80.94 percent turnout showed a far tougher contest than Mr Chavez has endured so far to his 14-year tenure. He won the 2006 election with 62 percent of the vote and by a margin of 25 points.</p> <p>With 90 percent of ballots counted, Mr Chavez won 7,444,082 votes, compared to 6,151,554 for Mr Capriles -- highlighting the deep divisions in the oil-rich South American nation.</p> <p>Mr Chavez had held a 10-point lead in the latest opinion poll before Sunday's vote, but other surveys had indicated a statistical dead heat.</p> <p>Hundreds of Mr Chavez supporters assembled before the announcement in front of the Miraflores presidential palace, setting off firecrackers, honking horns and holding signs as his campaign song blared.</p> <p>Election experts said the electronic voting system was reliable, but suspicions ran high that whoever lost would not concede defeat.</p> <p>"To know how to win, you have to know how to lose," Mr Capriles said at this campaign headquarters, putting those fears to rest. "For me, what the people say is sacred."</p> <p>"I am a democrat, through and through," the 40-year-old former state governor said, wearing a jacket in Venezuela's colors.</p>
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